


**Are
Missions
a
Failure?**

Charles A. Selden

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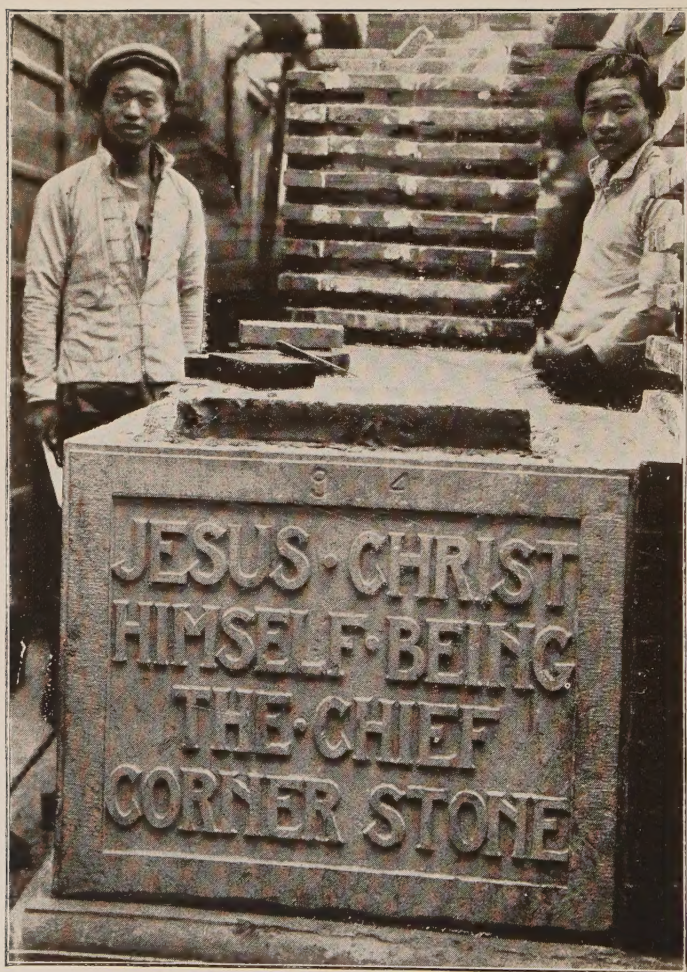
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ARE MISSIONS A FAILURE ?



A CHRISTIAN CORNER STONE AT SHANGHAI, CHINA

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Are Missions a Failure?

A Correspondent's Survey of
Foreign Missions

By
CHARLES A. SELDEN



NEW YORK CHICAGO
Fleming H. Revell Company
LONDON AND EDINBURGH

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FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY

New York: 158 Fifth Avenue
Chicago: 851 Cass Street
London: 21 Paternoster Square
Edinburgh: 99 George Street

PREFACE

THIS book is by a disinterested correspondent who went to Asia thinking that the missionary enterprise was futile. He found some evidence to support that belief but the bulk of the evidence was against it. The facts unfavourable to missionaries are indicated here and there through the book. They chiefly concern the misfits who are in this, as in every other calling. I believe they constitute only a small minority of the entire personnel.

Their unfitness is in no way denominational for all denominations are handicapped and tormented by them. Religion suffers from their presence. This uselessness, or worse, of the few is due to ignorance, lack of sympathy with other faiths, complete lack of the sense of humour and, above all just now, chauvinistic intolerance of the national desires of the various Asiatic peoples.

As to the majority of the missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, I am convinced that they are the one group of Western people living in the East who are a credit to the West, allowing, of course, for the few inevitable exceptions

that are to be found in the political and commercial groups.

The fitness of the missionary majority is no more a matter of sect or denomination than is the unfitness of the minority. It is a matter of human sympathy with a touch of internationalism; of personal ethics plus the sense of humour which the others lack and which is doubly essential to the success of those who must live and work in far countries.

I have used but little of the statistical information which was handed to me at all mission stations. It gives no adequate impression. If one wished to belittle the work of the missionaries there could be no better way to begin than by using their own statistics which show that after centuries of effort they have converted only about one per cent. of the Asiatic populations.

But the true measure of their ramifying activities is not to be found in such figures. It is better indicated, I think, in the stories which I heard from missionaries, converts and non-converts in many thousand miles of travel.

My commission in the East from Barton W. Currie, editor of *The Ladies' Home Journal*, was to write about what I found there as an impartial correspondent. More specifically, the assignment was to learn if the home rule movement led by Gandhi in India or the Nationalist move-

ment in China had produced any new problems for American missionaries working in those countries.

The present upheaval in China for the winning of national sovereignty was well under way in the southern provinces dominated by Canton when I was there. Much of what could then be set down as prediction for the country as a whole has since become accomplished fact and the Chinese chapters of the book have been revised accordingly.

On the other hand the home rule aspirations of India have not yet added any new difficulties to the missionary work there and the chapters concerning that country, and Siam, the Malay States and Japan are substantially as they appeared serially in *The Ladies' Home Journal*.

C. A. S.

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I

THROWING ANTI-MISSIONARY PREJUDICES OVERBOARD

WITTER BYNNER summed up his experiences in the Far East with this:

*I went away a Western man
But am coming back in a caravan
Slowly, slowly o'er the sands,
Bringing wisdom in my hands.*

The present writer concerning Christian missionaries in Asia, takes to himself the first three lines of that stanza. Being a reporter, however, and neither a poet nor a philosopher, he does not claim to have returned from the East full of wisdom, but with a dozen notebooks filled with facts and impressions from many Christian and non-Christian sources.

I went away a Western man with a complete outfit of the modern Western layman's preconceived notions, prejudices and scepticism concerning missionaries. Several generations of such laymen have generalized from hackneyed jokes and prejudiced attacks, based on misinformation or ignorance of the subject, and come to the conclusion that when the missionary is not

an international nuisance he or she is a cypher so far as spreading Christianity is concerned.

After thirty thousand miles of travel and something like three hundred interviews my prejudices gave way to great respect for the missionaries and their work.

The missionaries themselves, absorbed in their work thousands of miles away, are not conscious of the false opinion or indifference concerning them at home, which is the attitude of all except a group of devoted church people with a lingering faith in old-fashioned evangelism. And even this sympathetic home group, because of its very belief in old methods, has little appreciation of the constructive work which the liberal missionaries are actually doing in the field to-day and of the new methods of approach which they have had to adopt for the presentation of Christianity to an awakening and sceptical East.

Devoted church-going Christians in the United States are almost as ignorant as the millions of nominal Christians who are approaching a one-hundred-per-cent. indifference concerning their religion at home and who never knew anything about it abroad. There is seldom anything about the missionary in the secular press except when he is held responsible for an awkward diplomatic incident. The religious press, with few exceptions, still adheres to the attitude that all the

people of the world are divided into two groups—Christians and heathens—and offers mawkish propaganda intended to screw pennies out of Sunday-school children and adult church members for the support of the foreign work. That is a theory which the intelligent men and women who are doing that work have abandoned. It would surprise many Y. M. C. A. members in America, no doubt, to know that an important part of the work being done by the Y. M. C. A. in India is the translation and publication in English of the ancient sacred books of these so-called heathen.

In the countries to which they are assigned, as well as at home, the missionaries are misunderstood and between two fires. Eastern people who oppose Christianity accuse its representatives of being the agents and cat's-paws of European and American politics and trade sent out in the name of religion to pave the way for exploitation. But the European and American politicians and business men in the East damn the same missionaries for interfering with trade and politics. Of course both charges cannot be true. I do not think that either of them is except in rare, isolated cases.

One of the chief sources of misinformation and prejudice concerning the missionary is in the rapidly increasing number of American round-

the-world tourists—the strangest, blindest group of human beings that ever went to sea. They do not travel, they do not even trot around the globe. They dance around it, they shuffle, cut and deal around it. Of course in every boatload there are a few queer kill-joys who really want to see strange lands and peoples and have some intelligent advance information and sympathetic appreciation of what is in store for them. But they are not typical of the modern circumnavigators. To the general run the ship is a floating night club or cabaret. It differs from the hotel dance floor only in the fact that its daily mileage across the meridians offers something new to make bets on to supplement the bridge game gambling which is kept going to fill in the intervals when exhausted dancers and the players in the jazz orchestra have to take a rest.

The tourists go ashore only at the big coast towns dominated and Westernized by the foreigners, which are about as representative of the Asiatic countries as Wall Street and Broadway in New York are of the Western prairies. But even at these ports they take the ship's orchestra ashore with them to a European standardized hotel so that shore leave will not interrupt the dancing. I ran into such a tourist group at Colombo on the island of Ceylon. They were swarming into the post office to mail cards pictur-

ing the wonders they did not have time to see because on the very afternoon and evening of their arrival the musicians from their boat were to play for dancing at one of the hotels. The ship was to be in port only twenty-four hours. It was not an exceptional case, but in accordance with the routine custom of the touring ships' orchestras.

At Calcutta I met another shipload. They filled the dancing space of one hotel and overflowed into another. The press agent carried by this group of tourists filled half a column of a Calcutta newspaper with names of the travelers, identifying each one selected by him as worthy of special mention, as an American millionaire or near millionaire or close relative of a millionaire. The Indians laughed and charged as much for their curios and souvenirs as would be obtained for the same things on Fifth Avenue and the other luxury shopping streets of American cities.

It is almost exclusively through such tourists, the missionaries and the Singer sewing machines that America is known in India. In China and Japan it is very different. America is better known in those countries than Europe, but one could live for years in British India and never realize the existence of the United States. In the course of two months there the only news item

from America that I found in the English language newspapers was one about the detaining of an Englishwoman, the Countess Cathcart, at Ellis Island. The developments of that case were printed from day to day under conspicuous headlines, partly because the incident made the United States appear ridiculous and partly because all Asia is keen about every phase of America's policy of excluding foreigners, especially Asiatics.

In the course of a seventeen-day voyage which I made from Port Saïd on a British ship filled with English business people bound for Madras and Calcutta there were only two items of American news posted on the vessel's wireless bulletin, although the board was filled every day with many sheets of information from all other parts of the world. The first of these American items told of a shooting at a drunken dance in Brooklyn. It was the sort of brawl that would receive a paragraph of not more than five or six lines in a reputable New York newspaper. But out there in the middle of the Indian Ocean we got half a newspaper column of it. Even the names of the persons who were arrested were given. Why? The ship's wireless operator could not tell me. He simply received it and stuck it up. He thought it might have been put on the air as a joke on American prohibition.

The English passengers evidently thought so, too, for they made much of it as an enjoyable topic of conversation.

Aboard the same ship we learned by wireless that the fossil remains of a fish had been found in a rock in Vermont. That fact cheered us on our way across the Gulf of Aden, but to the finding of the fossil the wireless bulletin had to add this: "Vermont is the only state of the United States which has no seacoast." As I was the only non-British passenger aboard there was nobody who could share my enjoyment of that geographical statement. I could not explain it and get from some fellow passenger a sympathetic understanding of the great magnitude of my own land because nobody on that ship loved me. I went aboard Christmas Day in Egypt. My forty-one fellow English passengers had embarked at London and so had been aboard two weeks before I joined the company. The fancy-dress ball committee, the deck games committee had been appointed. The tournaments were all under way. All the stunts had been assigned for the Christmas Night dinner and festivities in the Suez Canal. No outsider really had any right to board that boat on Christmas morning at Port Saïd, certainly not an American outsider.

I killed what little chance I may have had for

any social recognition soon after going aboard when a languidly curious Englishman in shorts, who had been jumping skip rope on the cargo deck to keep in condition, asked me why I was going out to India. An innocent abroad, I told him that I was interested in missionaries. The results could not have been worse if I had told him that I was a missionary myself. I was a leper. The news spread, it flew in shorts from the skip rope arena to the smoke room. I did everything I could to avert the doom of punishment by silence in the blazing heat of the Red Sea and to win a kindly word. I wore a sun helmet after sundown. I ostentatiously ordered a gin and bitters with little pearl onions in it instead of a cocktail with an olive. I arranged my deck chair with the arms sticking out to block the passage of the promenade just like the chairs of the English merchants of Calcutta. I pored over the pages of the British Peerage in the smoking room, hoping there might be a knight aboard and that I would attract his favourable attention. If that voyage had lasted two days more I would have jumped rope myself, regardless of age. As it was, nothing that I could do got me anywhere.

On the evening of the third day I was spoken to. A man of Madras came up to me where I was standing by the rail. "Mr. American," he

began in a sort of vocal explosion—"Mr. American, I want to say to you that your country has played the part of a hog." I waited. He continued: "You Americans have played the hog in this debt settlement business. If it is any satisfaction to you I admit that my country has played the part of a jackass in agreeing to pay. Good-evening." He walked away with the air of a man who had performed the job of a delegated spokesman in telling me how he and all the other passengers felt about it.

A day or two later the ship put in at Aden for five or six hours and all hands went ashore. I was roaming about in a remote part of an Arabian village when I met an English fellow passenger accompanied by his wife. She walked on and waited. He stopped and spoke. "Mr. American," he said, "I am in an embarrassing fix. I came ashore without any money and my wife thinks she may want to buy some souvenirs here. Can you lend me a couple of pounds until we get aboard?" I could and did. He settled a few hours later on the ship. I charged no interest. I even told him there was no hurry about it. Every day after that when we happened to meet on deck he bowed. On the last day, under the pleasurable excitement of sighting the land of Ceylon, he said "Good-morning."

That is a digression from the round-the-world

tourist to another type of east-bound voyagers who also despise the missionaries. What I had started to say was that these tourists pick up in the hotels and cafés of such cities as Shanghai, Hongkong and Bombay the gossip and slander of the Westerners domiciled in those towns, concerning missionaries. It is added to the general stock of routine conversational topics aboard ship and, without any first-hand knowledge whatever, develops into what the travelers bring back to America as their own adverse opinion of the missionary movement. It is taken seriously at home because the critics "have actually been in the East and know all about it."

My assignment by *The Ladies' Home Journal*, to the missionary fields in the various countries of Asia was based in a general way on the assumption that we were not getting in the United States the right slant on the situation from the casual and generally cynical comments of travelers nor from the daily or denominational publications. More specifically the work was to ascertain if the recent home rule agitation in India and the nationalist movement in China had produced new problems and difficulties for the missionaries.

To get such information I traveled thirty thousand miles, counting the journey out by way of the Missionary Exposition at Rome and the

passage home across the Pacific. I interviewed about three hundred men and women. The inquiry covered Egypt, India, Burma and Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula, Siam, China, Japan and Korea.

Egypt was not really in the geographical zone of the assignment, but a five-day wait there for a ship offered an excellent opportunity to get some advance information on the practically impossible task which Christians have in their effort to win converts from Mohammedanism. Adherents of any one of the other great historical religions of the East are much less immune to the persuasion of the missionaries.

All told, I traveled on seventeen ships, counting river boats in China and various small cargo vessels touching at Asiatic ports not on the routes of the big liners. On an eight-day voyage from Bangkok to Hongkong I was the only passenger aboard a British coastwise ship loaded with rice and rosewood of Siam. The captain told me that I was the first passenger he had carried for seven months because of the anti-British boycott in the South China ports. On several of my boats there were not more than three or four passengers and generally my fellow travelers were missionaries, so there was ample opportunity for long, leisurely conversations on deck, much more productive of useful material than the ordinary interview

in the course of a man's daily routine work. The ideal combination, which happened once on a four-day run from Singapore to Siam, was having a missionary and an anti-missionary Christian aboard with nobody but the captain of the ship and myself to hear their long arguments for and against the effort to Christianize the world.

For land travel there were the railroad trains of India, the filthiest things in the East that a foreigner has to use, and the trains of Japan which are as clean, comfortable and well served as the best in the United States. There was almost no railroad transportation in China except for bandits and the various armies involved in the civil and guerrilla warfare. Plus the trains, the work of hunting up missionary stations in all countries involved the use of everything on wheels from Ford taxis to bullock carts and rickshas, with an occasional journey in a coolie-borne chair where there was no surface on which wheels could run. It was by means of a bullock cart that I got to Mahatma Gandhi's home near Ahmedabad, but the man, flat on his cot, was then so weak and ill after a recent fast and with a touch of fever that I kept all my questions to myself and had no interview. However, just to see that man for ten minutes and to get a touch of the hospitality and friendliness in that emaciated face was in itself worth a journey to India. He

told me, what he had often said before, that he would not become a Christian but that the Sermon on the Mount was one of the great sources of his faith and inspiration. Several months later, in Hunan Province, China, I called upon another great spiritual leader who was seriously ill, the Rev. G. G. Warren, who has been working among the Chinese for forty years. I told him that he was the second man whom I had found in a sick bed. He asked who the other had been, and when I told him that it was Gandhi the old man's eyes filled with tears. After a moment's hesitation he said, "I am happy to have my name coupled with Gandhi's even if it is only in the notebook of a correspondent." Warren is a Wesleyan Methodist. The incident shows what all the really great Christian leaders in the East think of this Indian leader who accepts Christ but adheres to his own faith.

The method for getting material concerning missionary work was, of necessity, geographical—first one country and then another. In some regions the Catholics have the field to themselves, in others the Protestants, and, among the latter, the various denominations have taken to themselves different localities in which one or another of them predominates. But there would be no point in dividing up a review of the whole undertaking on denominational lines. Except, per-

haps, for convenience in administration and for purposes of financing, these demarcations are one of the bad features of the whole Christian enterprise. It bewilders the Asiatics but it is something that the modern missionaries are struggling to remedy.

So, among the three hundred persons whom I interviewed there were representatives of nearly all the Protestant denominations, many Catholics, the Salvation Army, adherents of Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism, the followers of Mohammed and Confucius, a few Parsis and Sikhs and an occasional animist whose only notion of religion and worship is saying some incantation over a lucky stone or twig of a tree and depending on it to keep the evil demons away from him. It is far easier to make a Christian, at least a nominal Christian, out of such an animist than to convert an educated Hindu or Buddhist. Except in Japan, where the missionary work from the beginning has been among the educated and comparatively well-to-do people, fully ninety per cent. of all the Christian converts in Asia have been won from the illiterate and depressed classes. But on that point, at least, there is much to justify the missionaries, and their enemies admit it. It is this: That almost invariably these Christians are less depressed and more literate after conversion than before.

II

NON-CHRISTIAN AND ANTI-CHRISTIAN NOT IDENTICAL

THERE is a marked difference between the non-Christian and the anti-Christian.

By non-Christian I mean an adherent of some other faith whose own belief does not make him antagonistic to the religion of the West. On the contrary, in the course of many interviews with followers of the other religions, I found that the more devout and sincere a man was as an adherent of an Eastern religion, the more sympathetic he was with Christianity and the more hospitable to the Christian missionaries. It is by the rapidly increasing friendly relations between such men and the intelligent Christian missionaries that an approach is being made possible which, centuries hence, may lead to the longed-for world religion. At the present moment the people of the East admit that Christianity is more in harmony than the other beliefs with their new and growing aspiration to develop as individual human beings rather than to lose themselves in the mass. On their side the missionaries admit that Christianity, especially in its

home countries, must take to itself something of the Asiatics' serenity and interest in spiritual things. All missionaries whom I saw told me that, regardless of their denominations and of their stand on the issue of modernism and fundamentalism. These admissions from both the Christian and non-Christian groups may indicate the lines along which the religions of the world will pull gradually toward each other.

As for anti-Christians, individuals or organized groups actively interested in attacking the religion, I found very few of them among people who count for anything in their own countries. There are, of course, all through the East political and intellectual leaders who are opposed to the missionaries because they associate them with old and recent invasions and present domination by Western governments and commercial interests. But they do not attack Christianity on religious grounds. On the contrary their criticism is that the professed Christian nations are not Christian in practice.

China is the only country in which anti-Christian propaganda based on purely religious and philosophical arguments is considered as a serious menace by the missionaries and the leaders among the native converts. There the opposition is under the direction of a group of Chinese rationalists, educated in America. They are opposed

to all religion but are making a special drive against Christianity at the moment because they are able to make capital on that angle out of the present feeling of resentment against the Christian nations which refuse to restore to China her old sovereignty. The philosophical attacks of the anti-Christian leaders are diluted and popularized for the masses and for children in the elementary and high schools maintained by the missionaries and are being spread about the country in much the same way that Robert G. Ingersoll attacked Christianity in the United States forty years ago.

Sometimes a local or personal anti-Christian campaign may be traced to the stupidity or tactlessness of the Christian workers themselves. I was told of several such cases. In Shanghai, for example, I met a Confucianist who had been converted to Christianity, afterward reverted to his original faith and then was devoting his life to trying to win his aged mother away from a Christian church and to keep his several hundred relatives out of it. This Chinese, a man named Nieh, is a wealthy manufacturer, a scholar and a grandson of the Chinese military hero who put an end to the Taiping Rebellion.

I asked him why he had become a Christian and why he had not remained in that faith after his conversion.

“Because it was not what I thought it to be,” he replied. “And because my associations were unhappy after I became a church member. It was Sherwood Eddy, a great American Christian, who first interested me in his religion. I told him that there were various beliefs held by Christians to which I could not subscribe but that otherwise I would like to be a Christian. He told me that the things to which I objected were not at all essential and that the progressive believers no longer considered them as vital. On that assurance I finally decided to change my religion but, unfortunately, when the time came for my actual entrance into the church Mr. Eddy was not in China. I found myself in the hands of a very different group who insisted at the moment of what they called my formal conversion that I declare my belief in the things which I did not believe. I did it to avoid embarrassment for the church and myself. Then, as a member, I was called upon to do many things which, in my opinion, had nothing to do with religion. They seemed to think that I was an unusual convert and had advertising value for them because of my social, intellectual and financial status among Chinese. They wanted to make me honorary chairman of many committees and expected me to subscribe to many funds. It was an irritation that made religious inspiration difficult. All

these busybody excrescences incidental to my church membership were not conducive to my finding in Christianity the spiritual solutions of life which I sought. It was an unhappy experience so I returned to Confucianism."

Mr. Nieh then showed me a magazine, printed in Chinese, all of which he writes himself for monthly circulation exclusively among his relatives. It is devoted to arguments in favour of Confucianism and to appeals to his kinsmen not to wander away from that faith. "But I cannot win back my own mother," he said. "I am sorry, although there seems to be some humour in the situation. She became a Christian when I did and because I urged her to take the step along with me. Now I urge her to return to Confucianism and she refuses. She declares that she is too old and says that to change religions once in a lifetime is enough."

The Nieh incident, more interesting than typical, was one of many that I ran across in my three hundred interviews and conversations, beginning in Cairo and ending in Yokohama. There was a wide range of circumstances and conditions under which the information was obtained. At Calcutta I wanted to see the Metropolitan of the Church of England. His only available time was on a Sunday night. He invited me to supper at the Bishop's House after the Cathedral service.

All the bishops of India, Burma and Ceylon were at the table so it was a joint interview that saved me many miles of travel. By way of contrast several months later I was taken to a remote Christian village in Korea where my information came in the course of a feast of pickled fish served on the mud floor of the headman's hut. The Church of England bishops had all told me of their desire to modify the service and form of worship to make them more in accord with the temperament of the Indians. The temperament of the Koreans was manifest to me in the following inscription in Chinese characters over the door of the little house: "The valley is full of flowers and the birds sing."

At a Government House garden party in Madras there was opportunity to get the opinions concerning Christianity held by gorgeously uniformed Indian officials, but they were less interesting than the faith of an eighty-year-old Siamese woman who insisted on reading her Bible to me in her bamboo hut overhanging a stream through the jungle.

The upshot of my journey was that the layman's prejudices concerning missionaries which I carried away with me were greatly modified. It is true that in the course of centuries the Catholics and Protestants between them have not won to their religion more than three million Indians,

a scant one per cent. of the entire population. The numerical showing in the other countries is even less. It is also true that the quality of the Christianity of many who are counted as converts is pretty poor—as poor as that of many church members in the United States. There are Asiatic Christians—hundreds of thousands of them—who know very little of what their new religion means, who have professed it for some material advantage: To get more food, better jobs, better education, to escape starvation or the tyranny of caste. All these motives can be matched in America.

Nevertheless, the missionaries have done much more than to put a few million Asiatics through the formal process of becoming baptized members of this or that denomination. They have brought the best there is in Christianity, as a religion, to the serious attention of millions who have not and will not become Christian in name. And this is back of all the more obvious gains in the way of education, sanitation and medicine which even the missionary baiters concede.

Furthermore, the presence of the Christians has served as a challenge to the leaders of the East to purify their own religious beliefs and observances. In every country there are vital organizations at work to rid their shrines and temples of bigotry, superstition and grossness.

It is so because of the Christian influence of recent years. Primarily the reforms were for the defensive purpose of making it more difficult for the Christians to win converts from the other religions. But in the fight against bigotry the leaders of all religions, including Christianity, have found that they have one more thing in common.

The score to the credit of the missionaries is not measured by the statistics of converts. Their merit outside of the strictly religious field is also great. They are the most generously disinterested and creditable representatives of the West who dwell in the East. They are a wholesome and much needed offset to the bad element among the foreign commercial people and to the fox-trotting tourists. They are an important factor for international good will and friendliness. They have not robbed the Eastern countries nor approved their political exploitation, although they have been used for centuries by foreign powers as an excuse to justify such exploitation. Now they resent that and are demanding of their own governments that old injustices be ended and that no more crimes against Asia be committed under the guise of making it safe for Christianity.

There are a few missionaries who are too timid to be consistent Christians in such matters. They

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have become useless as representatives of any religion. There are also those who are so stupid and tactless, so entirely lacking in tolerance, imagination and sense of humour that they are a horrible drag on the whole work. They are of the sort who still call all Asiatics "heathen." They either know nothing about the ancient religions of the East or brush them aside as so much rubbish.

I met several such so-called missionaries, and in their presence and while listening to their drivel concerning what they thought their calling to be the whole missionary movement seemed to be the most stupendous piece of futility and impertinence in the history of the world. But they were a very small fraction of the whole number with whom I talked, traveled and lived. I do not think for a moment that they are typical of the missionary personnel to-day.

On the contrary the intellectual, social and religious average of the whole Christian force in Asia is high. I believe it is higher than the average of the ministry in the United States.

III

ALL'S WELL AND "UM DEKTA HI-E"

FOUR bells of the evening watch were struck. As the last stroke died away there came the cry of the British, and presumably Christian, quartermaster on duty in the bow of the ship: "All's well, the lights are burning bright, sir." And then the singing, chant-like call of the Mohammedan sailor on watch with him: "Um dekta hi-e."

"What does 'um dekta hi-e' mean?" I asked of an outward bound missionary standing by me at the ship's rail, trying to find the Southern Cross on the night horizon of the Indian Ocean.

"It means," he replied, "exactly what the Englishman's 'All's well' means. Literally in the language of the Mohammedan lascar sailor it means, 'I am keeping an honest watch ahead.' Incidentally it might mean for you the symbol of a vital fact which the Christian missionaries in Asia are beginning to realize and which they must understand if they are to make any real progress in the future. I mean they must recognize that the religious leaders of the East are trying to say



THE MOSLEM PRAYS TOWARD MECCA

the same thing that Christianity is trying to say, but in a different language—in various different languages."

Then he warned me not to measure missionary work merely by figures and statistical reports. "They only show," he added, "how many thousands or millions of formally baptized converts there are. They do not show the millions who are becoming Christianized within the ranks of their own religions. And they certainly do not indicate the growing realization of our own missionaries that they have something to learn in the East as well as something to reach. Most of those in the field now appreciate the fact that there is something in common among all the great religions. We know that Hindus and Mohammedans accept Jesus Christ as a great leader and teacher, as a true prophet of God and as a factor for good in their own lives."

Hence the symbolism of the calls from the bow watch. The Christian and the Mohammedan were sailing over the same ocean toward the same port. They were doing the same work for safeguarding the ship. They watched the same stars, got relief from the monotony of their common tasks by gazing at the same porpoises racing ahead of the cutwater and giving the ship its path of phosphorescent fire. Only, at the end of each hour one said "All's well" and the other "Um

dekta hi-e." To the ship's captain up there on the bridge, they meant the same thing.

This ship on which I was making a seventeen-day voyage afforded me various other preliminary object lessons concerning missionary problems before she reached Ceylon, which was my first objective after leaving Egypt. For one thing there was the hourly demonstration of the fact that followers of the non-Christian religions take at least the outward forms of their faiths more seriously than the Christians do and have none of the Christian's diffidence or self-consciousness about religion. They take prayer and devotion as a matter of course.

The crew of the ship, about one hundred and forty men, were all Mohammedans who had shipped at Calcutta for the voyage to England and return. The serang or lascar boatswain who acted as the intermediary between these Indians and the Christian officers read the Koran to the sailors every morning for an hour. Not once a day, but on Sunday forenoons only, the captain read the Church of England service in the saloon to a small handful of the Christian passengers. The stateroom and dining room stewards were also Indians but all Catholic Christians, having come from Goa on the west coast of India, which has been Christian ever since the Portuguese invaded and converted it in the latter part of the

fifteenth century. As there happened to be no Catholic priest among the passengers, the stewards and waiters made the entire voyage of something over three weeks from London to Calcutta without any religious service whatever—an unthinkable thing for the Mohammedans.

Sitting by the forward rail of the promenade deck with a copy of the Koran for reference, I could find in that book minute directions for the faithful as to the manner of their praying and their bathing before prayer. And then, at any time in the course of the day, I could look down upon the cargo deck below and see individual sailors carrying out these instructions which had been given by the Prophet thirteen hundred years ago. Squatting on deck with their water jars, they bathed their arms, faces, heads and finally their bare legs in the order set forth in their sacred book. Then with that compass-like instinct of the Mohammedan which tells him in what direction Mecca lies, no matter in what latitude and longitude he may be, the sailor turned toward his holy city and praised his one God and Allah his prophet. Every man of the crew did that at least five times a day.

In the course of the long voyage from India and back, the serang has time to go all through the Koran in his daily readings in the foc'sle, so the sailors hear many references in their own

sacred book to the founder of the Christian religion. This one, for example: "Those to whom God hath spoken He hath raised to the loftiest grade; and to Jesus the son of Mary He gave manifest signs and strengthened him with the Holy Spirit."

No doubt the complete lack among the Christian passengers and stewards of any sign of devotion to their Leader who had received "manifest signs" and the "Holy Spirit" is the cause of wonderment to these crude, uneducated Mohammedan sailors who spend their lives going back and forth between India and England. The fact indicates one of the real difficulties which the Christian has in his work of converting the follower of another religion, the observance of which is so much more obvious and persistent.

One night I went forward to the prow of the ship to hear "um dekta hi-e" close to. The Mohammedan sailor on watch was singing to himself, entirely oblivious of his English shipmate's presence. "He keeps that up all the time," the white man explained to me. "It grates on your nerves after four hours of it but you can't do anything about it. A white man mustn't ever hit an Indian. It's one of the strictest rules we have on a British ship. It's his damn religion that makes him so cheerful. He's always humming or mumbling or praying. When we get out of the

Red Sea coming East and you have to turn back to look toward Mecca these beggars on watch will turn away from the course of the ship to pray before midnight and then sing out to the bridge that they've been keeping a good watch. All Indians are liars and they get worse when they become Christian. Then they think they are as good as white people and you can't do anything with them."

Incidentally, it occurred to me that the average Christian passenger traveling down the Red Sea would not quit his deck tennis or quoits for an instant to take a look at Mount Sinai, let alone Mecca.

In that summing up of his personal philosophy as to comparative religions and the race question, the British seaman on the bow watch expressed an opinion that no doubt would have been approved by a large majority of the passengers. Most of them were Englishmen in minor government jobs and commercial clerks returning to India after home leave. Taken as a lot they were small fry, but for that very reason, representative of the parrot-like public opinion of a very large section of the dominant race in India. They knew little and cared less about the work of the English or American missionaries. Their comment on the matter boiled down to the notion that it was a nuisance to have Indians converted to

Christianity because it made them less menial and therefore not so useful as house servants. One man dismissed Gandhi as "a joke who failed ridiculously because he was too Christlike in an age when business is business."

After leaving that ship, however, I found no Englishman in India, high up in government or commercial affairs, who thought of Gandhi as a joke or who did not have tremendous respect for him. Politically, and as a leader in the economic movement to substitute the products of Indian handicraft for the importations from English factories, they look upon him as a man who has failed. But as a spiritual leader they rate him as the greatest man India has ever produced. The Christian missionaries declare that the non-Christian Gandhi has made their work easier for all time by his bringing Jesus Christ to the thought and knowledge of all Indians as the teacher from whom he had derived so much of his inspiration. This is the outstanding example of what is meant by the modern liberal-minded missionary when he says that greater progress is being made in the Christianization of India by modification of its beliefs and customs and even its religions than in the actual conversions to Christianity by baptism. The so-called Christianizing process affects directly the high caste Indians, even the Brahmans. The actual conversions for the most

part are among the depressed classes and the outcastes. Tens of thousands of them become Christians as a means of escape, through education and better living from the cruelties they undergo as outcastes. On the other hand one great effect of the Christianizing influence on the high castes has been to make them ready to start reforms of the caste system from the top. In this respect at least the conversions and the Christianizing without conversion are working to the same great end of doing away with the most cruel social system ever devised by man and sanctioned by a religion.

But I have got ahead of my story and landed myself in India before saying all that I wanted to say about that ship with the praying crew. There was one Mohammedan of India and England among the passengers, not of the ignorant sailor type, but a prosperous manufacturer and something of a sceptic concerning all religions. However false his comment may be concerning Christian missionaries they are important and relevant to the general subject as showing the opinion of leaders among the Mohammedans who control all of Egypt, practically all of the Near East and who have a minority population of sixty millions in India—three of the principal fields which Christians hope to win.

"The Christian missions," said the Mohammedan, "began their work with the kindly benef-

icent obsession that failing to convert the world would mean leaving the world to perdition. That obsession still remains with many of your sincere and devoted field workers but back of the field workers and with the management in the modern missionary movement that obsession has given way to the idea of possession. The missionaries are being used to make economic and political control easier, to extend markets. They are being used as forerunners of selling agents by teaching the poor people of the East to use and to want the manufactured products which add so much to the creature comforts of the West. But the plan will not work for you are making your missionary teach two things that contradict each other and the Indians will see through it. You offer the religion of Christ as a Western religion and stress the simplicity of Jesus and His blessings on the poor and the weak. Then in the same breath you ask the East to accept Christianity because of what it has done for the West and you cite all your material progress as proof of it. Jesus rode on an ass, not in a Rolls-Royce. You are trying to drive them together at the same time and it cannot be done. Christianity as a religion is doomed in India. Its very progress in education and other practical matters at the cost of subordinating religious emphasis hurts it with the Indians who are mystical and spiritual, who

demand a religion solely for its own sake and not as an agency in secular affairs. For example the splendid Christian schools throughout India and all Asia for literary education and vocational training are subordinating religious instruction to secular for the sake of getting pupils from educated and influential non-Christian families. The number of non-Christian boys and girls in these schools is growing faster than the number of those who have been converted or who may be converted. Hindus, Buddhists and Mohammedans are all accepting the benefits of this education without the slightest thought or expectation of departing from their traditional faiths. It is an excellent thing for them and for the East but fatal to Christianity as a religion in the East. You not only do not demand conversion on the part of the beneficiaries of your education but you give them greater intellectual power to defend their own religions against your attack and to detect the weak points of your Western civilization and its absurd incongruities with reference to its moral, political, economic and militaristic departures from the teachings of Christ."

What this non-Christian observer had to say concerning the danger to Christianity in the East from subordinating religion to secular education is very much the same thing that many devoted American missionaries of the old school are say-

ing themselves. There is a difference of opinion among Christian workers on this point that is probably more acute to-day than the old and pernicious denominational difference now softening but which from the beginning have been a handicap to the Christians chiefly because they are so bewildering to the non-Christians.

But so far as Christianity being doomed in India is concerned I think the Mohammedan is all wrong. My opinion is based on conversations with many Christians and non-Christians throughout the country and on what I have seen in various mission stations and schools. None of the great religions is doomed in India, except that of the Parsiis which dates from 660 B. C. and which its present adherents are deliberately allowing to die out because they will receive no converts and because their death rate has almost caught up with their birth rate and is steadily increasing. Hinduism, which is constantly changing for the better because of Christian influence, Mohammedanism which was copied largely from Christianity and retains its monotheism, and Christianity itself are bound to survive in India. Perhaps some day, centuries hence, there will be a blend.

There is no other country in the world where religion as such, regardless of its label, thrives as it does in India.

So far as the charge that non-Christian students outnumber the baptized in Christian colleges is concerned, the Mohammedan understates the matter rather than exaggerates. In most of such institutions which the writer visited the Christian students were in the minority. In many cases they were small minorities. But in all the colleges the non-Christians receive and readily accept Christian religious instruction. That is another vital part of the "Christianizing" process without conversion.

Breaking journey at Port Said gave me an opportunity to learn what the Christians think of the Mohammedans as material for conversion in Egypt, a country which they absolutely dominate so far as religion is concerned and in which they have recently received from the English the right of more complete self-government. The two things go together, for Mohammedanism is a religion which includes both the political and social systems of its followers.

Robert S. McClenahan, Dean of the American University in Cairo, told me that Islam was breaking up because educated Mohammedans were realizing that their form of civilization which is determined by their religion could not produce the material power and wealth of the Christian West. "They are not becoming Christians," the Dean added, "and they will not abandon the

forms and customs of their faith because that would involve too much of a social upheaval and too much personal sacrifice and ostracism. They are simply becoming cynical concerning all religions, including their own, and are trying to put into the shell of their traditional faith as much of the Western methods as it will absorb for their material welfare."

Two minutes after leaving the Dean I passed a garage and saw through the open door a Mohammedan servant kneeling beside a car and saying his prayers. I never had seen anything of the sort in an American garage. But Dr. McClenahan was speaking only of the educated Mohammedans and their lack of real devotion. Most of the two hundred and thirty millions of Mohammedans of the world are ignorant and their chief concern in life is to pray five times a day and make the pilgrimage to Mecca before they die.

President Charles R. Watson of the same University said that work with pagans is far easier for the missionary than with Mohammedans. "Converting pagans," he explained, "is like digging sand, you get something every time you lift the shovel. Working with Mohammedans is like boring granite, and then blasting. There must be an explosion before there can be results. We may have such an explosion some day, for Mo-

hammedanism is losing its hold on its own intellectual leaders."

The Christians possessed Egypt for at least two centuries before the Mohammedans came. Those early Christians were of the Coptic Church which broke away from the European Christians in 450. Two hundred years later they themselves invited the Mohammedans to come to Egypt as their rulers to supplant the rule from Constantinople. The Coptic Church had become corrupt and deadened by formalism. The Bible had been twisted and misinterpreted to give sanction to persecution of the people. Mohammedanism was then less than a century old and in a much purer state than Christianity as Egypt knew and practised it. So the conversion of the country to Islam was quick and easy. But the Copts who preferred to remain Christian were not exterminated and their descendants formed the small nucleus on which the Protestant Christian missionaries began their work. The British and Foreign Bible Society was the pioneer organization in 1818. The next to go were the missionaries of the United Presbyterian Church of the United States in 1854. Now the American workers have about seventeen thousand communicants in Egypt but the point is that only two hundred of them were converted from Mohammedanism. And yet Dr. J. R. Alex-

ander, the senior American missionary in Egypt, is confident that eventually the country will be Christian. In the meantime the Christianizing process without conversion is going on as in India. A large percentage of the pupils in the various Christian schools are from Mohammedan homes. They are taught to read with the New Testament as a textbook. The majority of the patients who receive treatment in the Christian hospitals and dispensaries are Mohammedans. Upon their discharge they receive Bibles to take home.

In the Y. M. C. A. at Cairo two hundred of the seven hundred members are Mohammedans. Their interest, of course, is in the social and athletic activities of the Association. If any one of them showed interest in religious work he would be ostracized by his associates and disciplined by his family. If he became converted he would forfeit his family inheritance under the laws of Islam. The leading Mohammedans of Cairo want the Association because they think it is a good thing for their sons but they frequently ask that the word "Christian" be dropped from its title. The vice-chairman of the Association's committee on secular education is a Mohammedan who, under no circumstances, would abandon his faith. Donald B. Atwell, of Ohio, one of the Association secretaries at Cairo, as-

sured me that no other religionist suffered such persecution by his own people for conversion to Christianity as the Mohammedan. "They may not be thrown to the lions as the early Christians were," said Atwell, "but they suffer cruelties of which the modern Christians have no conception. The Christians themselves are very much to blame for this. It is in part the result of the Christian behaviour toward the Mohammedans at the time of the Crusades."

IV

PROTESTANTS BARELY HOLDING THEIR OWN IN CEYLON

MISSIONARY work of the Protestants in the island of Ceylon, with its four and a half million of population, is barely holding its own, so far as the increase in the number of conversions and baptisms is concerned. Last year, in fact, there was a nominal Protestant Christian decrease, in proportion to population, of a fraction of one per cent. At the present time there are 368,000 Catholics and 75,000 Protestants on the island; 300,000 Moham-medans, one million Hindus and nearly three million Buddhists. It is the world's chief stronghold of Buddhism in its purest, least modified original form. This religion has practically died out in India where it originated twenty-five hundred years ago. It has undergone many changes in its spread north into China and Japan and even in Siam and Burma, where it is the prevailing religion. In Ceylon, however, it is very much as it was in the beginning and a most difficult system for Christian missionaries to deal with.

The Catholics are making much greater success than the Protestants, however. Their in-

crease in the fifty years from 1871 to the taking of the last census in 1921 was from 184,399 to 368,499. The increase in the number of Protestants for the same period was from 55,652 to 74,901 or no increase at all in proportion to total population. The fact that the Catholics began their work early in the sixteenth century, three hundred years before the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries, partially explains this difference. But only partially because after the early compulsory conversions of the islanders for political reasons, first by the Catholic Portuguese conquerors of the island and then by the Dutch Protestants there was a great reaction against both forms of Christianity and almost the entire population reverted to Buddhism. The Portuguese held the island for a century and a half. They forced the Singhalese into Catholicism. The Dutch were in possession for the next hundred and forty years and their record so far as compulsory religion was concerned was just as bad. They forced everybody they could reach to turn Protestant. The British came in 1796 and granted complete religious freedom almost from the outset, with the result that after three hundred years of enforced Christianity the population went back to its traditional faith. More than a thousand new Buddhist temples were built on the island in the first ten years of religious

freedom. (The Portuguese and the Dutch had allowed no temple building whatever.) The Protestant Christian population which the Dutch had built up artificially dwindled almost to the vanishing point, many of the Singhalese going back to the Catholicism of their great-grandfathers of the Portuguese time and more of them back to the Buddhism of their earliest ancestors.

Since then the recovery has been very slow but entirely natural. No Christian in Ceylon to-day is such because he has to be. Conversions are voluntary and the foundation is being laid for future increase in their number by the process of education.

I asked the Rev. A. S. Beatty, head of the Wesleyan missions in the island, why greater progress had not been made. "I admit that we have not made the progress we should have made," he replied. "It is a most difficult thing to get any point of religious contact whatever with the Buddhist. There is nothing in common between the two religions that we can take as a starting point. There is no belief in God or the human soul or immortality involved in Buddhism. Perhaps time has been wasted in an effort to find common ground. There is a difference of opinion among the missionaries themselves on that phase of the question. Some believe that the effort to build Christianity on the ethical principles of

Buddhism is hopeless and that we must present the religion of Christianity to the Buddhist as something entirely new without any reference whatever to his own faith. The right approach must be found. At the present rate of progress Ceylon will never become a Christian country, but I have great faith in the ultimate results of our school teaching."

Further explanation of the slow growth is to be found in the contentment and comparative prosperity of the native people. They are governed from England as a crown colony, entirely separate from India, so there is far less political unrest than in India. They want more and more home rule but do not want to be cut off from England altogether. Ceylon has had no Gandhi to develop its sense of nationalism. To the Singhalese, patriotism consists chiefly in being a Buddhist. Furthermore, Ceylon has not suffered from frightful famine periods, which are the chief harvest times for convert-seeking missionaries in India.

There is another obstacle in the counter-propaganda which the Buddhist monks have recently organized to prevent conversions out of their faith. They have taken to roadside preaching, which is an entirely new method for them, because they have seen that it was effective for the Christians, especially the Salvation Army worker.

“Do not try to convert our people now. Wait until you are calmer yourselves in Europe and the United States,” said W. A. de ’Silva, a Buddhist scholar of Colombo, whose family name before the Portuguese invasion was Pinchabadu Ge. “Don’t convert us now,” he repeated. “The world is so upset at the moment, so tainted with grossness that it is a bad time to disturb the souls of men who are now calm by inducing them to leave the safe moorings of their old religion to try a new one. One of the cardinal principles of Buddhism is to get rid of things and the desire for things. As we see it here now in the East, one of the cardinal principles of Christianity is to have more and more desires—and to satisfy them. It would not be good for our people or for Ceylon to convert them to that.”

Nevertheless Mr. de ’Silva did not hesitate to admit that the many schools established in Ceylon by the Christians for the education of all comers, regardless of religion, had been a blessing to the country. “And your missionaries and other Christian workers are helping us wonderfully in social reforms, notably in the work of getting rid of saloons. There is no finer influence in Ceylon than that of Mr. G. P. Wishard, the American Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in Colombo. He does not urge young men to become Christians, but he shows them the best there is in unspoiled

Christianity; which fits them better to help in the work for their own people."

It was at the de 'Silva home in Colombo that I had the above interview. Several days later, in the course of a railroad journey to the north of Ceylon, I had to change trains at a junction and learned too late that I would have nine hours of travel on the new train, which carried no dining car. I had no food with me, and there was no time to get any. When I boarded the second train I found de 'Silva, the Buddhist, as my only traveling companion in the compartment. His recognition and greeting were a delicious thing for a lone and hungry American. "I thought I would meet a friend to-day on this journey," he exclaimed, "so I told my servants to put food for two in my basket." Whereupon we dined. Later on when the train stopped he handed some coins out the car window to the group of beggars on the station platform. "I do that, as a Buddhist," he said, "not for the sake of the beggars but for my own sake—to get rid of something. If you did it as a Christian your motive would be to help the beggars, to indulge in some form of self-sacrifice for the benefit of somebody else."

At Kandy I visited one of the most interesting Christian schools on the island, the Hillwood School. It is maintained for the daughters of the Kandian chiefs, descendants from real chiefs

who formerly ruled the mountain regions of Ceylon, and who are now the head men of their districts; living, most of them, in the edge of the jungle and making a living out of rice fields and coconuts. But the quality of the old-time breed, which was similar to that of the highland chiefs of Scotland in the days of fighting England, still persists. It shows in the intelligence and beauty of the daughters, one hundred and thirty of whom have been sent in from remote homes to live and learn in the Hillwood School. More than half of these girls are Buddhists but they attend the religious services of the school. From the school hill they may look above the trees and across the beautiful lake of Kandy to the famous Temple of the Tooth to which their families come from the jungle on pilgrimages for worship. The pupils range in age from four to eighteen years, beginning with kindergarten and ending at graduation with a training equivalent to that of the Cambridge senior high school. They are taught domestic science on the same principle that it is taught in Simmons College, Boston. In the kindergarten room I found the walls decorated with pictures of children, taken from the covers of old issues of *The Ladies' Home Journal*. They made the Temple of the Tooth seem less remote from Independence Square in Philadelphia than the map would indicate.

Work of the United States missionaries in Ceylon is confined to the Jaffna district, at the northern end of the island, where the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—Congregationalists—have been established since 1816. They now have a great college for men, another for women, many lesser schools, a hospital for women and various outlying mission stations. There has been a Y. M. C. A. in the town of Jaffna for thirty years; and the American Seventh Day Adventists made a small beginning in the district in 1920.

The natives of Jaffna are not Buddhists but Hindus and practically all of them are Tamil Indians. In consequence, the missionaries in the north have to deal with the caste system, which does not prevail among the Buddhists in the south. Also at this station the entire American staff seemed to realize that they could no longer hold up the United States as a perfect type of Christian civilization.

“We have to squarely face the facts with these people,” said Mrs. Max Hunter Harrison, of Jaffna College, “and tell them that the West is not Christian, that no country in the world has put the teachings of Jesus into practice. Too many Indian students are going to the United States to study and coming back disillusionized.

“The old myth about us no longer holds in the

East. We have a girl in Jaffna, a Tamil Christian of the third generation, whose grandfather was converted from Hinduism. She went to America to study in Mount Holyoke College under the best of conditions but she came back shocked—not with what she was taught at Mount Holyoke but with the general behaviour of young people and their absolute indifference to religion. She told me she had supposed all Americans were like the missionaries or the Indians who had become Christians. However, the experience did not weaken her own faith. It made her feel what so many Indians are beginning to express, that Christ Himself was of the East and that perhaps, after all, the true interpretation of His teachings will come eventually from Asia when the failure of the West to live up to it has been realized.”

In telling me of the Hindu majority among his 550 students, President John Bicknell, of Jaffna College, said, “Conversion is God’s business. Our work is to present the truths of Christianity. That work is welcomed by the Hindus who, in increasing numbers, are coming to believe that they can follow Christ without leaving their own faith. There was a pamphlet issued recently by a Hindu society in Jaffna, urging the people to avoid materialism. It closed with the quotation: ‘What profiteth it a man to gain the whole world if he loseth his own soul?’ ”

V

IN THE TEMPLE TO SIVA

GATHERING impressions and information concerning Christian missionary work in continental Asia began in South India. The place was the city of Madura, with its vast century-old temple to Siva, second only to Benares in the north as the chief place of pilgrimage for the devout Hindus of all India.

Here as elsewhere one of the things I asked of various missionaries and teachers in the Christian schools was: What concrete thing in their teaching did they find most effective as an appeal to a non-Christian; what New Testament story or parable or saying of Jesus was most likely to start the Hindu on the road away from his own faith?

Almost invariably the Catholic missionaries declared that the story of the crucifixion was the most effective because of its appeal to the emotions and the sympathies of the Indians. Protestant workers said that Saint John's was the most effective of the four Gospels because of the fact that it was more philosophical than the other three, and all Indians love philosophy and mysticism. But the Protestants were rather vague

as to the relative effects of different Bible stories. There is, as a rule, much teaching and Bible reading before any sign of conversion is given, if ever, and the teacher has no means of knowing what has been the most effective thing.

So I tried to get the information from the taught instead of from the teacher and put the equivalent of the question to an Indian student in the Pasumalai School at Madura. Before repeating his reply it is well to call attention to the fact that young people, as well as old, in India speak of religious matters with absolute naturalness and spontaneity. There is no embarrassment about it and no pose. They will discuss the spiritual differences between two religions as freely and eagerly as a boy at home will discuss the relative merits of rival baseball teams. So utterances which would set the modern American youngster down among his associates as a mawkish sort of prig or hypocrite must be interpreted differently when coming from a young Indian.

“It was the story of the Good Samaritan as contrasted with a commonplace incident in Indian life that started me definitely toward Christianity,” replied the boy at Pasumalai. “Until then I had no thought of becoming Christian. On the contrary I took a young fellow’s delight in being defiant about it and made a practice of Bible reading to find passages that I could criti-

cize and ridicule. I could find no fault with the Good Samaritan story, which I was familiar with, but it made no special impression on me until one day a Brahman who was giving me instruction became enraged because an outcaste boy walked too close to where we were sitting. There was no other offense, but the Brahman beat that boy unmercifully. Then I got my contrast with the Good Samaritan and wondered if Christianity were not right after all. When I was sure of it after more thinking I was beaten myself. My father did it when I told him I was going to become Christian. Also he tied me up with ropes at home for a week to give me opportunity to change my mind. Then they turned me out. I went to a Christian school and was taken in."

In this boy's room at the school dormitory the pictures on the wall were those of Christ, Abraham Lincoln, Harry Emerson Fosdick and Doctor Jowett.

He said that before making his final choice he had considered various religions which had no caste system as a substitute for Hinduism. "I turned away from Buddhism," he said, "because Buddha was not divine and his religion denies that I have a soul. Mohammedanism is the religion of conquest. Its followers have invaded India and enslaved my people. The Roman Catholics have almost as much ritual as there is

in the Hindu temples and I did not want that." This student's argument against Catholicism, by the way, works just the other way with many thousands of Hindus, to whom the colour and greater symbolism of the Catholic services appeal as an offset for what they are losing in forsaking the Hindu temples.

I asked the boy what difference there was between Christians and Mohammedans so far as conquest was concerned and if the Christians had not also invaded his India and taken it into their own control.

"Yes, that is true, but there is a big difference," he replied. "The Mohammedan invasion was in direct accord with their religion and ordered by it. There is nothing of the sort called for in the New Testament, and my English and American teachers have convinced me that I am not to judge their religion by the records of their governments and business people."

Another boy, a student in the American College at Madura, told me that the Bible story which had finally won him was that of the Prodigal Son. "I am not a Christian yet," he said. "That is, I have not gone the whole way of being baptized—but I am going to. Then I will be a prodigal son myself, so far as leaving home is concerned. My father has told me that I may believe what I like and urges me to get all the

education I can from the Christians, but says that he will put me out of the family if I actually go through any formal ceremony of conversion from Hinduism. So I shall be homeless within a month. My father will not take me back as the father does in the story of the prodigal. That is the very reason why that story wins me. I find in it a promise and symbol of a kind of fatherhood which is much greater than can be found in any Hindu family or temple."

By way of contrast I found that evening in the temple of Siva another boy, whom in the course of the day I had seen at work in a classroom of the American College. He was walking in slow procession with a dozen other devotees around the shrine of the planets, a worshiper whose faith in Hinduism had received no weakening whatever from his Christian education.

Fortunately my companion of the night in the temple was Herbert Arthur Popley, one of the Christian workers at Madura and a Y. M. C. A. National Secretary for Christian Work through all India. To have tried to see that vast twenty-five-acre temple alone by night in the flickering light of its thousands of oil torches would have been almost as hopeless as trying to see it with a professional guide. Cows wandered undisturbed through its miles of dim corridors, picking their way among groups of prostrate worshipers or

beggars. Bats flew in swarms through its dusky arches, swirling in and out of the Hall of a Thousand Pillars. Weird tolling of shrine and temple bells blended with the clang of hammers, for the temple workers were preparing the Juggernaut cars for the morning when the images of all the gods were to be taken on their annual procession through the city to a sacred lake.

Before every altar scores of men in their loin cloths were touching the pavement with their foreheads, as apparently immovable as the gods themselves. Other scores, clustered about the lingams or phallic symbols carved in stone, knelt with their skeleton-like arms upstretched to beg. And they too were as motionless as the worshippers or as the granite emblems of the creation which had brought them into the world to beg.

In the entrance arches were the stalls of the privileged merchants, sitting cross-legged before their heaps of sacred wares—the fruits and foods which the orthodox Hindu may eat without offending his gods, the ashes and paints with which he smears his forehead to show that he has worshipped. Groups of small barebacked, barelegged boys, wearing the Brahman's sacred thread of the twice born, squatted in circles on the stones about their teachers learning and chanting out of sacred books in their own preparation for the priesthood.

Other circles were made up of men discussing

philosophy and religion with Brahman scholars, one of whom sat in the center of each group, teaching by the light of a candle held upright on the floor only by the dripping of its own wax. One of these sages, a friend of Popley, who knows them all, hailed us and asked us to join the circle. Whereupon a commonplace sight became unusual because the addition of two Westerners put a blotch of white into the brown and black ring of faces around the candlelight. Immediately we were surrounded by another ring of the curious, not squatting, but standing three deep and bent over double with their faces and gleaming bare backs projecting like living gargoyles above and between the heads of the philosophers. But curiosity was short-lived. The gargoyles became philosophers themselves, forgetting the white men and listening to the Brahman. It is the way of India.

The teacher, who for the love of teaching will talk at any time anywhere to any and all who care to listen, without price and without any formal organization of a group, shifted for a moment from the Tamil language of the Indians to perfect English to explain that they were discussing the impossibility of the human soul's retaining its personality after being absorbed back into God, who is impersonal.

That was the sort of question which would hold

the interest all night and every night of these men, some of them technically illiterate, most of them desperately poor with no hope or thought of ever being otherwise, some of them—to judge from their pitifully thin legs and arms—never sufficiently fed. Above all such matters as food and clothing and decent living quarters their interest is in a philosophy and religion that is four thousand years old and to which more than two-thirds of the three hundred million people of India still cling, after all the invasions of the Mohammedans and after four hundred years of missionary work by the Christians.

As we came from the temple, Popley assured me that I had seen the two extremes of Hinduism which made it a difficult problem for Christian missionaries to tackle—the speculation of its learned men who believe in one God, Brahma; and the apparent idolatry of the ignorant who need many shrines and images to give them concrete symbols of the various attributes of Brahma.

The next day there was an even more vivid illustration of this need of symbols when we followed a small group of men and women pilgrims to a temple to the goddess of smallpox in Madura. They had come all the way from their village a hundred miles distant, beating drums, playing on flutes and leading a sheep for their

offering. The head of the sheep was painted and there were garlands of flowers about its neck.

The pilgrims explained that there was no smallpox in their village but that they were afraid there might be if they did not do something to propitiate the goddess. The difficulty in not taking these things seriously is that you see in the face of the devout Hindu woman, leading the sheep to the shrine, the same beautiful, wistful expression of hope and faith that you see on the face of her converted sister praying in a Christian chapel.

There was one case of a woman near Madura who had been converted to Christianity and then weakened when her child had smallpox. She prayed to the God of the Christians and then went to the smallpox shrine too. When she confessed her lapse to the missionary she said: "I wanted my child to live. I thought it would help your Jesus to save him if I asked the goddess to be good to Jesus and not make his work too hard."

The boy died. The mother returned to Christianity because she hoped thereby to see the child again.

Another difficulty for the ignorant Hindu is that he misses all the romantic warmth of his temple, even though it may be tawdry and squalid and full of tinsel. There is something lacking for

him in the plain simplicity of the Christian chapel in the village. Particularly he misses the weird rhythm of Indian music which suits his religious mood better than the hymn tunes of the West. And the missionaries are beginning to appreciate this and devising ways and means to Indianize the forms and methods of their service.

The minstrelsy of this same man Popley is an illustration. He not only makes possible his approach for Christianity through his sympathetic understanding of Hinduism but he is a good singer and an expert musician, who after a scientific study of the music of the East has composed many hymns in that medium and set to them the stories of the Bible, which he sings in the vernacular out in the fields and villages. No itinerant Indian juggler, no charmer of many snakes can hold a crowd away from such singing of the story of Jesus Christ.

This Christian minstrel is doing very much the same thing for the cause of Protestantism in South India that Robert de Nobili did for Catholicism two hundred years or more ago. De Nobili was also a great missionary stationed at Madura. He realized that the work was going slowly because of too many differences between Indians and Westerners in matters not at all essential to Christianity. So he adopted the native costume and diet and lived as the Indians lived. Where-

upon they hailed him as one of their own *sannyasis*, or "holy men," and Christianity thrived for a while in India as it had not thrived before since the days of Saint Francis Xavier, who landed in Goa in 1542.

The only considerable group of Christian workers in India to-day who are following the De Nobili principle are the men and women of the Salvation Army. No other sect or denomination had a more romantic beginning in Asia than the Salvationists. Their work there was established by Booth-Tucker, a British aristocrat who was born in Bengal in 1853. His father was an English judge of the British High Court in India. His grandfather was chairman of the old East India Trading Company, the operations of which finally made it necessary for England to add the country to the British Empire. Booth-Tucker himself was a Commissioner in the British India civil service when, in 1888, he happened to see a copy of the *War Cry*, the Salvation Army newspaper, which somehow had found its way to Lucknow.

The Commissioner concluded that the sort of work described in that paper was the thing needed for the Christianization of India. He resigned from his government position, cut himself off from all his high social connections and went to London, where he begged General Booth to

take him into the Salvation Army and assign him to India for work. The request was granted, and Tucker returned with a small group of fellow workers. They landed in Madras, where they adopted the turban and the robe and the begging bowl of the Hindu priest and Buddhist monk. Then they begged their way across India on foot, preaching Christianity in the villages and leaving behind them a wake of conversions in regions which Christianity had never touched. They painted their foreheads, after the religious custom of the country, but with the colors of the Salvation Army—red, yellow and blue.

Except for the head painting, the Army workers to-day are carrying on in the way that Tucker began. The women wear the sari, that most graceful, scarf-like arrangement which serves the native woman as both hood and shawl. The men go about in turban and dhoti, the skirt-like folding of many layers of cloth around the waist and thighs which most Indian men who are not content with loin cloths persist in wearing even when they are playing the tennis and cricket they have learned from the English. No missionaries are more welcome to the natives than these Salvationists. In the great cities like Calcutta and Bombay they live in the slums, as they do in New York and London. In the villages they have no better quarters than the mud huts of

the Indians. Also they adopt for themselves Indian names. For example, Booth-Tucker was Fakir Singh, both before and after he married a daughter of General Booth and took his father-in-law's name as a part of his own.

It is contrary to the policy of the Army to make public its numerical growth, but in one region only, that of the Punjab, the increase was from 18,000 to 38,000 in the latest tabulation for a decade. Like the other groups, the Salvationists maintain schools, carry on philanthropic medical work and have funds from which they make loans to villagers who are in difficulties, thus saving them from the fatal clutches of the money-lending extortioners from Afghanistan.

Going from Madura to Madras, I found in the latter city another of those Y. M. C. A. secretaries who are doing splendid work as ambassadors from one civilization and religion to another. They are suggestive of the government ambassadors sent over the world by the various state departments and foreign offices, in as much as their chief function is not to interfere with what they find in the countries to which they are accredited but to establish good will. The results of their efforts make one of the safest and surest foundations upon which the missionaries base their own work.

The secretary in Madras was an American,

Dalton F. McClelland, from Ohio. Dropping naturally out of the vernacular of his region into the Ohio tongue when another American appeared at his office, McClelland remarked, "Any missionary is going to be lost before he reaches first base if he comes out to India in these days without an appreciation of the fact that this is the most religious country in the world, in its own way, and that that way contains much we have got to learn and admire. The missionary will also be lost if he brings with him any denominational or sectarian bitterness and jealousy from the churches in his home town. A bigot can do more harm in India even than in the United States."

In other words, tact is one of the greatest assets of the missionary and the lack of it, more than anything else, has handicapped their work. The American Consul General in Calcutta, Julius G. Lay, said to me, "Tell the church people at home never to send missionaries out here who have not got the tact to deal with a very different sort of human beings. When I was stationed in China I had a case which resulted in the loss of half a dozen lives and it grew entirely out of the behaviour of a missionary who meant well but had no tact at all."

The classic example of the lack of tact was in that hymn, "From Greenland's icy mountains,

from India's coral strand," which was written by Bishop Heber just about a century ago when he was at the head of the Church of England in Calcutta.

The lines that did the damage in India and Ceylon were these:

*What though the spicy breezes
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle;
Though every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile:
In vain with lavish kindness
The gifts of God are strown;
The heathen, in his blindness,
Bows down to wood and stone.*

Many would-be converts have turned away in resentment when they have heard that hymn in Christian chapels in India and Ceylon. Whole congregations have gone on strike and refused to sing it. It was only after such demonstrations that the hymn went into the discard so far as missionary work is concerned. Now the missionaries have gone still farther in ridding their vocabulary altogether of such words as "heathen," "pagan" and "black men."

But there may be various kinds of tactlessness. Madras had a recent case which provoked much trouble and from the effects of which the cause of Christianity will suffer locally for some time to come.

A young Indian woman of good family who wished to become a Christian but who had been warned against it by her relatives, was practically kidnapped by missionaries and taken to a town several hundred miles away from Madras for the ceremony of baptism. Her own people went in pursuit but the ceremony had been performed before they found her. They took her away from the missionaries and carried her home, where she soon renounced Christianity and was received back into Hinduism. The affair caused a scandal and was as bitterly regretted and denounced by the intelligent missionaries as by the Indians. Ever since, there has been a controversy going on in Madras among the Christians themselves as to how far missionaries are justified in going in the work of proselyting. There is also the allied question concerning the necessity of actual baptism as a sign of conversion. This grew out of the case of Kandaswami Chetty, known throughout South India as the "unbaptized Christian."

Chetty was educated as a Hindu boy in the Christian College at Madras and for many years afterward was on its faculty as a teacher of English literature.

"The thing that I object to chiefly," Doctor Chetty said to me, "is the fact that they sometimes call me a secret Christian. I am not that. I am a follower of Christ and want to be known

as such by the world. In Him I have found the fulfillment of all that is best and all that is true in Hinduism. But I will not be baptized because it would take me out of the social system into which I was born and to which I belong. Worse than that it would cut me off from teaching and preaching Christianity to educated Hindus who are now my friends and followers. I can do more good as a Christian without the artificial label of the religion than I could do with it."

This argument satisfied many of the missionaries. Others look upon a case like that of Chetty as a menace to their whole work among the Indians and claim that he should be willing to accept the sacrifice of ostracism by Hindus for the sake of Christianity. The liberal attitude is that baptism must not be insisted upon in every case but that it should be maintained, nevertheless, as the ideal aim of the missionaries, for with any lesser goal the plane of the entire missionary enterprise would be lowered.

Another phase of the work in Madras, about which there is no controversy, is that being carried on by the Woman's Christian College in that city. Although guidebook editors may jeer at my classification, the three most beautiful sights of all India to me were the Taj Mahal at Agra, the banks of the Ganges River at Benares at dawn with thousands of Hindu men and

women holding up their brass and copper bowls of the sacred water toward the rising sun as a symbol of God, and the students in the Woman's Christian College at their morning chapel service. If ever there was a piece of architecture fitted to its purpose it is this chapel, given anonymously by a woman in America, and designed by an English architect who loves India and who said that he had tried to put into his plan the simplicity of a Quaker meeting house, the solemnity of a cathedral and the mysticism of the East. They are all there, at least when those hundred and thirty-five silent and motionless Indian girls, in saris of many colours, are at their prayers on that cool and spacious floor—some kneeling as Christians, some with their heads bowed to the black and white marble tiles as Hindus.

Miss Eleanor M. Coon, the acting principal and a graduate of Mount Holyoke, led the services but there was very little leading to do. She said, "O Lord, hear our prayer." The students said, "And let our cry come before Thee."

Then came the fifteen-minute period of meditation which means so much more to the Indian than many spoken words. At the end there was a hymn. After the teachers had withdrawn, a senior girl called the roll of all the students, not for the routine purposes of keeping a record of attendance, but so that each student "may hear

her own name called aloud every morning in the house of God."

At graduation, the women in such a college—there are several of them in India—receive A.B. degrees similar to those conferred in colleges for women in America. The colleges in India are supported in part by contributions from the college women in the United States. The sister college at home to the one in Madras is Mount Holyoke.

It is from the graduates of such schools for women that India is getting her recruits for the new social reforms to better the condition of women and children. At Calcutta recently there was an All-India Social Conference. An Indian woman presided. The program of the things they pledged themselves to work for included more education for women, abolishing of child marriages, abolition of purdah—that is, the enforced veiling and retirement of women from all contact with the world—doing away with dowries, remarriage of widows and the ending of discriminations against them, relaxation of the caste system with complete removal of untouchability, prohibition of liquor, discouragement of race-track gambling, strict supervision of cinema theaters, rescue homes for children, and friendly relations among Hindus, Mohammedans and Christians.

That is a most ambitious program for women who a generation ago would all have been in purdah with no thought of ever abandoning their veils and who, as widows, would have been burned alive on their husbands' funeral pyres.

Both the fact that there are no more such burnings and that there are such meetings as the one referred to at Calcutta must be set down to the credit of Christian missionaries with their churches, schools and colleges.

If there is any hesitancy in attributing so much to the Christians directly and entirely, credit may also be given to the various reform groups within Hinduism itself which have come into existence, because of Christian influence, to purge the ancient religion of India of its popular crudities and superstitions by means of education. I saw a splendid example of this work in the Ram Krishna school for boys at Madras, with its observance of the Hindu religion freed from all its grossness but showing all its amazing tolerance. In one of the schoolrooms there were portraits of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and Benjamin Franklin.

At the altar in the school chapel was the Hindu goddess of wisdom; but the figures in the four stained glass windows of the shrine were those of Sankara, a great Hindu philosopher, Mohammed, Buddha and Jesus Christ.

VI

MASS MOVEMENT CONVERSIONS OF ILLITERATES

THE phase of the missionary situation in India which seemed most hopeless to me was not so much the insignificant drop-in-the-bucket proportion of Christian converts to total population as the infinitesimal fraction of such converts who are men and women of any education or standing among their own people. To have faith in any considerable value of the movement to India as a whole I found it necessary continually to fall back upon the fact, referred to in previous chapters, that the more widespread work and influence of the missionaries is in "Christianizing" adherents of other faiths rather than in baptizing and formally converting them to the religion of the West under the various denominational classifications and then counting them up for the statistical reports.

But this so-called Christianizing is by no means a wholly secular or material process, even though the more obvious manifestations of it are that there is more sanitation than baptism, a readier welcome for Western education and the miracles

of modern medicine than for the miracles of the Bible.

Of the many missionaries with whom I talked throughout India, only the least experienced and least intelligent were hopeful that members of the intelligent Brahman group and other high castes would ever come over to formal Christianity in any considerable numbers. On the other hand missionaries who are not blind to the realities all assured me that the stay-at-home slogan makers in the United States displayed fully as much ignorance as piety by their ridiculous and mischievous boasts that the entire world would be Christian within this generation. Such slogans have been used in money-raising campaigns for the missionary cause.

In India the success of the Christians, measured numerically, is always in proportion to the misery of the native people. But even in non-famine periods the degree of poverty, semi-starvation and the practical slavery due to caste tyranny is sufficiently great to afford a receptive and responsive missionary field, the surface of which has been only scratched. After four hundred years of work, beginning with the efforts of the Portuguese Catholic missionaries in the end of the fifteenth century, the Christians today number something less than five millions, or about one and one-half per cent. of the total popu-



A GROUP OF INDIAN CHRISTIANS—ALL ONCE WERE OUTCASTES

lation of India. The Catholics exceed the Protestants by about three hundred thousand, but in recent years the rate of increase of the latter has been greater.

The thing which both the major Christian groups have in common is that the bulk of their converts come from the illiterates, of whom India has three hundred millions. Also the great majority of them are from the dwellers in India's seven hundred thousand mud hut villages, in which disease and death have full swing and where the average length of life is less than twenty-five years.

I visited several of these villages, sometimes with missionaries on their rounds, sometimes on my own hook. I found many religions and superstitions ranging all the way from Hinduism in its most philosophical and non-idolatrous form down to the animism of those who make their incantations before sticks and stones and depend upon charms to save them from disaster. But I found no trace of absolute non-belief. The smallest total in the government religious statistics of the country is the most significant of the nature of the people. Throughout the two million square miles of mountains, valleys, plains and jungle which are India, only eight hundred and fifty persons, or one four-hundredth part of the entire population declared that they be-

lieved in no god or gods and had no faith of any sort whatever. It is characteristic of the race. The Indian thinks far more about his god or gods than he does about his welfare in this world—which, fully as much as climate or political or economic conditions, explains his lack of such welfare. For a small group of Brahman scholars Hinduism is a wonderful philosophy, but, contrary to a widespread notion at home, very few Brahmans are scholars and a large percentage of them are as illiterate as outcastes. That was one of the disillusionments which India gave me. I went there almost in awe of the very word “Brahman,” perhaps from the left-over effect of the meaning which used to be attached to the word in Boston.

With the lower castes Hinduism breeds indifference to the necessity of industry, education or sanitation. Therefore it is not more religion that India needs but more religion of the sort which teaches that life itself is worth living and that there is much to be done before death. On that practical ground alone there is justification for the work of carrying Christianity to India. I found ample evidence of that everywhere in the fact that the Christian communities are better educated, better housed and better fed than their neighbours, not because of the charity of missionaries but because of the different habits of living and industry which the missionaries have

taught them. Furthermore, Christianity offers the only escape from the status of the outcaste, which is a status determined by the Hindu religion, and therefore something that no material prosperity or education can rid a man of so long as he remains a Hindu. The remarkable thing about it is that when one of a low caste or an outcaste becomes a Christian he receives far better treatment from high-caste Hindus who have no thought of becoming Christians themselves. So there is a second justification for the missionary on other than purely religious grounds. Christianity is the chief agency by means of which the caste system can be attacked successfully, although Gandhi, himself a Hindu, is opposing caste, both by preaching and practice.

The limit to which such successful attack can be made will not be determined in India, but by both the Protestant and Catholic elements in the United States and England and Europe, where the effort must be financed. In all these supposedly Christian countries at the present moment there is a serious cutting down of the missionary appropriations. But if enough tolerant, cultivated and educated men and women can be sent out, if enough schools and hospitals can be opened, it is within reason to assume that many more millions of Indians can be brought over from nominal Hinduism to at least nominal Christianity. I

say nominal Hinduism, because at least sixty millions who are counted as of that faith are not even allowed to worship in its temples because they are outcastes. In Madras I ran across the case of such an outcaste who while praying in the street in front of a temple, forgot himself in a moment of religious ecstasy, rushed into the building and prostrated himself before a shrine. He was driven out, pursued and stoned in the streets, then arrested and fined on the ground that he had polluted a sacred place.

The Christianity of the new converts would probably be neither more nor less nominal than is that of the majority of people in countries rated as Christian. It is easy to condemn the missionaries and to ridicule their converts as "rice Christians" because so many of them change their religion for the sake of material welfare and more food. But what is the difference, in principle, between such an Indian Christian and the man or woman in America who keeps up a church connection because of the social or business advantages growing out of it?

In venturing my forecast that many more millions may be won, say in another half century, than have been converted in the past four hundred years, I have in mind the recent success of the so-called mass movement conversions in which the American Methodists were the pio-

neers. Their adoption of that method was what enabled the Methodist denomination to reach its present total of nearly half a million Indian adherents. Other sectarian groups are now using the same mass system of bringing in whole villages at a time as the only way of really solving the problem.

H. W. Whyte, of the London Missionary Society, told me at Bangalore, in South India, that his organization had converted two hundred thousand low-caste and outcaste Indians in three years in the villages of the Telugu country, which has a total population of fifteen millions. Father Veys, a Belgian Catholic, reported a similar result in one of the northern provinces and assured me that the Catholics were preparing to go into Assam to compete there with the Protestants in mass work.

Incidentally this was the only report of a competition or proposed competition between the two great branches of the Christian workers that I heard of in India. Protestants and Catholics have very little to do with each other. But they are friendly. It was a Protestant in one of the great mission home offices in New York who told me before I started for the East that I must by all means learn about the "great work that is being done by the Catholics." And in various reports and documents that I saw on the way East

at the Catholic Missionary Exposition at Rome there were friendly and complimentary allusions to what had been done by Protestants. Aboard ship I asked a Dominican monk who was returning to his mission station if he would rather have an Indian remain a Hindu or become a Protestant Christian. After a little hesitation he replied that it would be better for him to become a Protestant because that would "bring him at least part way to the true religion." And Bishop Francis W. Warne, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in South India, assured me that the Catholics were doing a splendid work, which nobody else was so well equipped to do, among the Eurasians, or Anglo-Indians, the unfortunate half-breeds of European and Indian blood, who are despised by both the whites and the natives. So much for the relations between the Protestants and the Catholics. They apparently feel more friendly toward each other in India than in a New England village, for example.

To return to the mass movement. The method is to go into a village and interest the chaudri, or headman, in Christianity. If it appeals to him, as it does nine times out of ten, he gets a group of his people together for a meeting where the missionary has an opportunity to explain something of the new religion to a large group of men and women. After several such

meetings the village may vote to receive Christian teaching and a school is established in which the Indian children receive both secular and religious instruction and their parents are reached with stories from the New Testament. Indian Christian workers are the best story-tellers for this part of the undertaking simply because they can put far more of the colour and atmosphere of the East, where Christianity originated, into their interpretation of the religion than is possible for any Western missionary, no matter how devout he or she may be.

This preliminary educational process must go on for a longer or a shorter period according to the intelligence and receptivity of the village. Sometimes it takes a year or more before the missionaries are convinced that a community is worthy of baptism. A certain standard is maintained in this respect, so it is an unfair criticism to say that mass movements are simply mob conversions of a lot of people who have no idea as to what it all means.

As a minimum preparation the missionaries usually demand that the candidate for baptism shall know the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments and know something of what they mean. There was one very old woman who could not commit these things to memory but they had appealed to her tremendously and she wanted to

be taken in with the rest of the village. All she could learn by heart was “Ai hamare Bap jo asman per hai”—Our Father which art in heaven. She said to the missionary, “That is all I need to know, a Father in heaven; baptize me with the rest.” She was included in the group.

Other conditions imposed by the missionaries before baptizing are that all shrines in the village shall be destroyed, that the women shall remove from their arms, ankles, noses and ears any such ornaments as have religious significance, that all idolatrous practices at births, marriages and deaths shall be abandoned, that the wisps of long hair on the heads of boys whereby they may be “pulled up to heaven” shall be cut off and that the people as a whole agree to suffer persecution if necessary because of their conversion and to endeavour to spread Christianity to others. Those, in brief, are the conditions of the mass movement. Sometimes there is persecution, but not often, and it is offset many times by the thousands of escapes from persecution when conversion automatically lifts the people out of the caste system of Hinduism, gives them a new social status and sets them on the way toward an education and more healthful living.

VII

DEGRADATION OF THE UNTOUCHABLES

THE Rev. E. R. Hull, formerly of the Church of England but for many years now a Jesuit educator and missionary in Bombay, told me of the transformation that Christianity had brought to thousands of mahars, a great group of outcastes living in the high plateau villages of the Deccan. A few years ago these people were obliged to live by themselves on the east side of their villages. That was because the prevailing wind is always from the west and the odour of the mahars was supposed to contaminate the caste inhabitants in the other part of the village. Their work was to clean the streets, remove the filth and rubbish and do all the dirty tasks for the whole village. Each of them had to drag a bush behind him wherever he went in the caste part of the village to obliterate his contaminating footprints. He had to wear a cup tied to his chin for his saliva. He could not wear a clean turban or loin cloth if he wanted to. No child born a mahar could ever be anything else under the caste system. He had to remain

in the same village, live on its eastern edge and be a doer of dirty work all his life simply because his father had been a mahar before him. That had gone on for generations, a thousand years perhaps, and it never had occurred to the mahars themselves that there could ever be anything different. Outcastes and low-caste Hindus don't revolt, because they themselves believe that the caste system is an essential part of Hinduism and they accept their condition as a matter of course.

A few years ago the conversion of the mahars began. Children were educated, something that never had happened before to these people, and the men were taught trades. When the new generation came along there had been sufficient advance in the mass to convert them all. Their new religion had broken the hold on them which higher castes had had for centuries. They refused to be sweepers and scavengers and became masons and carpenters. For the rags which they had been compelled by custom to wear they substituted decent clothing, and the mahars of thousands of villages emerged from the most abject degradation into self-respecting communities.

The case of these mahars before their conversion was typical of the depressed classes of many different group names all through India, and there are at least sixty millions of such men and

women to-day whom the mass movement of the missionaries has not yet reached.

“Our first goal,” said Bishop Warne to the writer, “must be to free these sixty million human beings from slavery by means of Christianity. Just a little above them are another two hundred million of the low castes and so-called middle classes, all living miserable and precarious lives because of the Hindu system. They, too, must be reached eventually and they will welcome Christianity when we can bring it to them. We are accused of bringing in mobs of illiterates who can never know the meaning of Christianity and who cheapen the religion and bring it into disrepute with intelligent Indians. Converts are also charged with reverting to their old idolatry on the slightest provocation. None of these accusations is true. In proportion to the vast numbers of people involved in the movement the percentage of those who revert is not so great as the percentage of backsliders, for example, after a great revival movement in the United States.”

Sometimes the initiative is taken by the out-castes themselves when the headman of a village, not reached by the Christians, will come to the missionaries of his own accord and beg for instructors. In such cases there are apt to be quicker and surer results in the process of teaching and conversion. But the difficulty is that the

missionaries cannot do a tenth part of the work that is ready for doing. There are not enough of them and they haven't sufficient funds for training and maintaining enough native teachers and preachers to hold old villages in line and win new ones.

The situation has been made acute recently by a cut in the Methodist missionary appropriation of thirty-five per cent. Bishop John W. Robinson, in charge of the Methodist work in the Delhi area where the greatest mass work has been done, told me that this reduction of funds was nothing short of a tragedy. Many of the missionaries and hundreds of native Christian leaders had gone on with their work, he said, with greatly reduced pay, in some cases with no pay at all; but in spite of these sacrifices the work had been badly crippled. Schools have been closed and several mass movement centers have been abandoned, while the appeals of many thousands of newcomers for Christian instruction have to be denied.

One dangerous feature of this is that Indian Christians among whom the work has been abandoned, at least temporarily, and whose schools have been closed, are being ridiculed by the unconverted Hindus and told that their new religion has broken down and that they have been abandoned by the Christians altogether. Capital is also being made of the situation by both Hindus

and Mohammedans in a political move to reconvert the Christian Indians. Leaders in both of these non-Christian faiths are making more or less energetic efforts in some parts of the country to add to their religious communities because of the greater strength it will give them politically in the scramble for minor public jobs and government clerkships.

One such proselyting group of Hindus, claiming a following of about five hundred thousand, is the Arya Samaj. Its policy is to promise to do away with the caste system if Indians will remain in Hinduism and not listen to the Christian missionaries. To Indians already converted to Christianity they promise that they will lose none of their new advantages if they will return to their old religion.

Because of this and similar movements the missionaries actually in the field consider that this is a particularly unfortunate time to hamper and restrict the work by a reduction of the funds.

Aside from the cheap and uninformed denunciation of mass work from certain third-rate Englishmen doing business or holding minor government jobs in India and whose loudly declared contempt of all missionaries is a part of their social stock in trade, there is an honest difference of opinion among the Christians themselves concerning it. It is a difference chiefly between

those who believe that India must be Christianized from the top and those who are convinced that the foundation for the Western religion must be laid by working with the low castes and outcastes.

Canon A. W. Davies, principal of St. John's College of the Church of England, at Agra, for example, believes that a greater Christian influence would eventually be exerted on the masses if the literate minority could be won first. The two tasks are entirely different, and each by itself requires more men, women and money than are now available. I asked Canon Davies which he would choose, if there could be but one: Success with the masses or with the intelligent few? Which would be the greater achievement from the viewpoint of Christianity itself?

"I am afraid to answer that question," replied the canon. "I don't know what answer God would want to be given to that."

Father Hull, the Jesuit of Bombay, is frankly sceptical as to the moral and mental quality of mass movement converts, but sees no other field in which there is any promise of success for missionary work. He reaches his conclusion by the process of elimination.

"Just consider the different elements in the population of India," he exclaimed. "There are seventy million Mohammedans, all non-convert-

ible. You could not make any real impression on that group if you sent out seventy million missionaries. The caste Hindus, all non-convertible. The Jains, the Sikhs, the Buddhists, the Parsis; all non-convertible. There is nothing left for Christianity but the depressed and outcaste illiterates. They are of a low type. They certainly are not equal to rising above the graft and corruption and dishonesty that surround and submerge them and which characterize the whole commercial and social system of India. Even our famines are the result of corruption. There need be no famines. There are periods of short crops but we could weather them without starvation if the markets were not invariably cornered by the business men of India wherever there is a sign of approaching scarcity. The government cannot control these business men so the famine is allowed to come on and the government has to organize relief. But there is graft even in the administration of the relief. What can you expect of illiterate or slightly educated Indians, even though converted to Christianity, when, possibly because of that conversion, they get jobs on the railway or in some other government industry? Wherever they go they are in a system of corruption. The business of the army contractors is full of it. Even the banks established to save the people from money sharks are sur-

rounded by petty grafters who have to have their rake-off before the would-be beneficiary can get a loan.

“If the Christian Indian tries to go against the system by following the simple instructions in elementary honesty which we give him he becomes a menace to the system, for his honesty would expose the dishonesty of somebody else. He must either be crooked himself or get hounded out of his job. Our people are coming to us all the time in confession to tell about these things and to ask if, under the circumstances, this or that forbidden thing may or may not be done. It is embarrassing for the convert making the confession and for the priest who hears it.”

The big Swaraj, or home rule movement of India, in the leadership of which Gandhi has been succeeded by much lesser men, has had no appreciable effect on the work of the missionaries, as was first supposed it would have. In their campaign against English rule a few Swarajists have gone so far as to make Hinduism an essential part of patriotism and to denounce Christianity as a part of the Western system and civilization which they want to root out of India. But as a matter of fact the Swaraj movement has not had any material effect on the depressed classes with whom the missionaries do the bulk of their work. Many of these millions know nothing about

Swaraj whatever. Those who do are not at all eager for home rule because outcastes have less fear of the foreigner than of the caste Indians. They don't want to be ruled by the very people who are responsible for keeping caste alive.

So, if the present political awakening in India concerns the missionary at all it is simply from the fact that it may make more difficult the already practically impossible problem of winning any significant number of converts from the educated caste minority of the people.

Dr. Rama Rao, of Bangalore, a Brahman and one of the great physicians of India, was one of several high-caste men whom I interviewed concerning their reasons for not accepting Christianity. Like the others, he declared that Christian workers had done much good in the country, even ennobling and purifying Hinduism itself. But he denounced Christianity as a religion on three counts. First, that it was really non-existent except as an ideal; second, because of the insincerity of its self-styled followers in Christian countries like Canada and the United States; and third, because of the selfish individualism of Christians who hope and expect that, by the terms of their religion, their personalities will be perpetuated through eternity.

It seems worth while to quote for American readers a sample of these adverse opinions held

by leading men in countries which American missionaries are sent to convert. Needless to say, the purpose in repeating such criticism is not to show or spread disrespect for Christianity; least of all to belittle the work of missionaries. It is for the purpose of indicating some of the very real difficulties which the missionaries have, but which are not shown in the official reports published by the churches and mission boards in the United States. The missionaries in the field are eager that such things should be known, otherwise their problem cannot be understood by home-staying sympathizers who contribute to the financial backing of the enterprise.

“Europe and America,” said Dr. Rama Rao, “are not Christian under present conditions. Asia never can be. So really Christianity does not exist except as an impossible ideal. The non-attainment of that ideal in America, the country which boasts particularly of being Christian, is particularly noticeable to any Indian who has occasion to go there. I had such occasion a short time ago when I went as a delegate of India to an international medical congress in Toronto. I landed in San Francisco, and my first experience was in being asked to leave a barber shop. They would not serve me because of my colour. At Toronto I was refused a room in the hotel for the same reason. When I showed my credentials

as a delegate to the congress they gave me very poor accommodations but I had to put up with them. Because of my Hindu habits as to food I found and attempted to eat in a vegetarian restaurant. Two men—white men—who were at the table got up the instant that I sat down, shouted a complaint at the proprietor of the place and walked out. The proprietor tried to explain to me what the American prejudice was. I knew that better than he did. After that I got what food I needed by having it sent to my room.

“Of course, I do not hold your Christian missionaries responsible for these things. They bitterly regret them and spend much of their time in India in apologizing for such incidents and for the discrimination of the Christian sects in your Southern states against negroes. But a country which boasts of a religion that demands and teaches universal brotherhood of man should not need apology on that score. The fact that it does need it is a great handicap to the American missionaries so far as their approach to educated Indians is concerned. Our illiterate Indians do not know yet about these inconsistencies in the Western countries but even here, and on the part of the missionaries themselves, there is discrimination. They do not treat the Indian Christians whom they have converted or even the Indian Christians of the second and third generation in

the same manner that they treat each other. If the convert happens to be an educated Indian, which is seldom the case, he is patronized. The effort to treat him as an equal is too laboured and too obvious. If the convert is illiterate, as practically all of them are, he simply remains a person of a lower order. India has no monopoly of the caste system. We acknowledge it because, in spite of its needless abuses, its origin was sanctioned by our religion. You have the caste system in the West, but must deny that it exists because your nominal religion calls for brotherhood.

“As to the philosophy of the matter, Christianity teaches that you and I, that every person, will go on to a personal immortality, that the individualism of each human being will be eternal. Hinduism teaches that eventually every soul, losing all individuality, will be absorbed back into God. Which is the more unselfish belief?”

VIII

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INDIA'S MOST RAPIDLY GROWING RELIGION

CHRISTIANITY is the most rapidly growing religion in India, even though it has less than two per cent. of the population as its adherents so far. On the other hand, Zoroastrianism, the only other religion now living which had any influence on the Bible, is rapidly approaching extinction because its followers, the Parsis, refuse to adapt it to other people or to receive converts on any terms whatever. Conversations which I had with the people of both these ancient religions convinced me that there is a significance in the contrast which is relevant to the new sort of work that the situation demands from the Christians. So far as lack of adaptation is concerned, the missionaries may find a warning in the coming doom of the worship of Mazda, the Zoroastrian deity, which began six hundred years before Christ.

The warning is needed despite the present Christian growth. Missionaries in all parts of India and of various denominations assured me that more intelligent and sympathetic adaptation

of their forms of worship and method of religious instruction to the Indian temperament was one of their chief needs.

Parsis whom I saw in Bombay at the devouring of their dead by the vultures told me, without any lack of devotion, that their religion had about run its course. When I asked one of them why the adherents of the faith were deliberately making its perpetuation impossible he replied, "It is not essential that we continue. We have done our work." Then he added, perhaps in a spirit of mockery, "The Christians are coming to India now. They have the great truth of good and evil which their forerunners were taught by us. They can go on from where we stop."

The influence of Zoroastrianism upon what became eventually the religion of the West goes back to the days of the Babylonian exile when the Jews came in contact with the Parsis and, according to the scholars, borrowed from them the beliefs for the Old Testament teaching of the eternal conflict between good and evil. The three wise men in the story of the star of the East guiding them to the birthplace of Jesus were probably priests of Zoroaster.

To-day there are only a scant hundred thousand Parsis, most of whom live in Bombay where they are the chief merchants. The Indian Christians outnumber them fifty to one. Their birth

rate is lower than that of France. Thanks to the fact that they are prosperous, well educated and have the best standard of living there is in India, their death rate is also low, so for the time being, they are just about holding their own, numerically—but no more than that; and the birth rate is still decreasing. They will receive no new adherents from outside their own religious community. They refuse to accept into their faith even the husband or wife of a Parsi who marries outside the group. No living ember from the sacred fire of a Parsi temple now existing may be passed on to light a fire at any new shrine.

So the vultures, which I saw with both horror and fascination perched upon the parapets of the Towers of Silence in Bombay, watching and waiting for the Parsi dead, will have a longer posterity than the men and women whose bodies they tear to pieces upon the tower tops. This use of the vulture is the ancient funeral rite of the Zoroastrians, based on the belief that there must be no contamination of the sacred elements of fire and earth by burning or burial. But I had found the theory more convincing in a book than when I was actually watching the birds. They are the most sinister appearing creatures in all India, the land of crows and hawks and kites, the land which depends on the birds of the air for the removal of its carrion.

There are five of these round towers in a most beautiful garden on the heights of the city overlooking the sea. There also is a temple, in which Parsi priests attend the perpetual fire, and seats and pavilions among the flowers where the friends of the dead may wait for the birds to do their work. There are two hundred vultures. All day long they perch on the parapet of one of the towers in an unbroken circle, looking in all directions, blinking in the sunlight. They see the Parsi bearers coming up through the garden and climbing the steps of a tower. The always overfed flock rises sluggishly like a brown cloud. There is a horrible beating of the air by many slow-moving wings, a circling above the garden and then a swooping of the birds all together to the tower where the bearers have placed their long burden. Down below, the friends of the dead are making their devotions at the shrine or waiting among the flowers. It is all over in two hours. There is nothing left to contaminate the elements except the bones, which the hot sun will crumble to dust and which the rains will wash away. The two hundred vultures rise again, spread into a circle and alight once more on the parapet to blink in the sun and watch. There are three or four funerals each day. The birds need never fly outside the garden inclosure for food.

At Bombay, also, I had two demonstrations of the tremendous hold that religion as such, or any symbol of religion, regardless of its name or kind, has on the people of India. One was at a modern art show in the town hall. There were enough paintings to cover the four walls of a huge assembly hall. All the exhibitors were Indian artists and the pictures had all been painted within a year. Fully twenty-five per cent. of them were religious subjects. There were many imaginary portraits of temple priests and holy men, pictures showing Hindu rites and festivals in the homes of the people and at village shrines. Several artists exhibited portraits of their daughters with the sacred ash marks of devotion painted on their foreheads. The Brahman who took me to the gallery asked me how the collection compared with modern Western pictures. I told him that it would be impossible to find in an American or European city an exhibit of current paintings suggested by the Bible or even festivals and services in the present-day Christian church. He seemed puzzled.

The other incident was at a Catholic shrine of Our Lady in the outskirts of the city. Several Hindu men and women were bowed down before it and praying. I asked a priest if they were converts. "Oh, no," he replied, "but that makes no difference to them. You will find people of

all the Indian religions before Christian shrines. They have no thought of becoming Christians; but to them religion is religion and a shrine is a shrine. Hindu women and children come to Our Lady every day with offerings of flowers and rice. They pray to her for health and good luck. Mothers of sick babies come and women who want babies all ask the Virgin to help them. It does not hurt them with their own priests so long as they do not become Christians."

It is with such tolerant and receptive people as these millions of Hindus that English and American missionaries now want to go half-way in presenting to them Christian worship in a form that will be more natural and indigenous for them, to give them services and places of services in which they will feel at home and not be so distracted by externals that they have needless difficulty in getting at the kernel of what the missionaries are trying to teach them. Such reforms are needed more with the high-caste educated Indians who are practically non-convertible under present conditions than with the depressed classes because the latter have less to lose in changing from Eastern to Western forms of devotion. Although counted as Hindus, chiefly for political purposes and for menial service, they are barred from the very temples of their own religion because of their outcaste status. It is not so diffi-

cult to get persons so discriminated against to accept the foreign forms of a new religion, but even they are uncomfortable and would come more quickly and in greater numbers to a worship adapted to their own country and traditions.

The Church of England is on the eve of making the first official move toward such adaptation after years of hard fighting led by the Most Reverend Foss Westcott, Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of all India, Burma and Ceylon. It was my good fortune to hear much about this at first hand when the Metropolitan invited me to have Sunday night supper with him and the bishops of the several dioceses of India when I was in Calcutta. I was told to go ahead and interview every man at the table.

Bishop Westcott has been in India for thirty years or more. He has worked in the villages and in the cities and knows the problems. He is convinced that the Book of Common Prayer, as used in England, is not altogether suitable for the Indians, especially the illiterates—and most of them are illiterate. The Bishop of Calcutta also knows that an Archbishop in Canterbury, ten thousand miles away, cannot intelligently administer the affairs of the Church in India. He doesn't try to administer it at all because he also realizes the hopelessness of the situation, but there is no provision by which the Church in In-

dia can make its own rules or conduct its own affairs or appoint its own bishops. It must continually take chances on doing the right thing, regardless of ecclesiastical law of England. It operates under a system more than two centuries old, devised originally to safeguard the moral welfare of English employees of the British East India Company. There was no thought at the time of doing any missionary work among the natives or of having Indian members of the Church. To-day the system is practically the same, but at the present time seventy-two per cent. of the Church of England membership in India is native and eighty-seven per cent. of the Indian membership is illiterate.

What Bishop Westcott and his associates now ask of Parliament is a disestablishment of the Church in India, so that it may appoint its own bishops—now appointed by the King,—divide its dioceses according to the best interests of different regions, and adapt its form of service to the mental equipment and spiritual needs of the people. There has been bitter opposition to all this from the small minority English membership of the Church in India, who express the fear that their service will be “paganized” and that they will have to listen to Indian rectors. A real factor of the opposition which, of course, does not get on the official records is the feeling of great

superiority and contempt which many Englishmen feel for all Indians. The smaller the Englishman, the greater the contempt and sense of superiority. It is most vocal with those who would amount to nothing at home but who find a tremendous field for expansion in the fact that they can hire a multitude of Indian servants at the equivalent of thirty-seven cents a day per head. It is the group that an Austrian in Calcutta described to me as the fox-trot-and-whisky caste. The solicitude of this element of the population for the purity of the old Church of England service and the Book of Common Prayer has just a touch of the comic about it. However, they have nothing to fear, for both they and the worth-while English in India will continue to have their services unchanged. The only privilege that is sought is that of changing and adapting those services to meet the needs of the Indian majority in the church membership.

What the Bishop of Calcutta must do officially and by means of complicated church legislation is, in principle, exactly what the intelligent and progressive American missionaries want to do and can do much more simply: That is, Indianize Christianity for the Indians. After talking with many of these missionaries of various denominations and in many sections of India I would say that only a small minority of them

are not intelligent and progressive. The number of bigots is surprisingly small. They would all agree with the Indian Bishop of the Church of England at Donerkal as to the defects of a Western service for the people of the East.

“Our Prayer Book is meaningless to any of the Indians,” the bishop told me. “It requires the saying of too many words and hurrying through too many forms without any provision for meditation. The Indian needs long periods of silence in his service. Adoration is natural to him, but the repeating of many words which he does not understand makes both meditation and adoration impossible for him. We must give him what his spiritual nature demands but in a form which will enable him to absorb it.”

Fortunately there is no need of Indianizing the chief source of the teaching of Christianity, the Bible. It must be translated, of course, but that means merely putting back into the languages of the East the story that came from the East. It is the story of the East to-day, so far as the lives and customs of the people are concerned, far more than it ever has been or ever can be the story of Europe or America. The writer of this article, who had never been East before, was astonished to find how completely and accurately the things which he saw in crossing Egypt and afterward in traveling about India were de-

scribed by Bible language and phrases. The methods and tools of agriculture are the same to-day that they were in and about Palestine two thousand years ago. There are the same sort of water wheels, the same plows, the flails and the threshing floors. Away from the cities, which are few, the people live, work and dress as they did then. Bible stories are surely their own so far as their word pictures are concerned. There are still the money changers, at least on the steps of the temples if not in them. There are lepers and unfortunates going about to pray for the casting out of their devils. There are the village wells which the unclean or those of another faith may not approach. In all of India's eight hundred thousand villages of mud huts and at the street corners of the cities there are the scribes to write the letters for the illiterate.

One Sunday morning in Calcutta, for illustration, I went to the Church of Scotland. The preacher read from the thirty-second chapter of Exodus that Aaron had told the people to "break the gold from the ears of their wives" and bring it in for the making of the image of the calf. That expression would not mean much in an American town. But in the short walk from that church to the hotel I saw enough gold encrusted on the ear rims of the women in the street, as well as pierced through their nostrils

and jangling from their wrists and ankles, to make a very good-sized image of a calf.

Any story from the Bible can be matched just as closely as that one in the present-day life of India, which is a great asset in favour of the missionaries. The value of it may be greatly lessened, however, by a lot of denominational hair-splitting over the meaning of those stories or by insisting that the Indian who is listening to them must sit uncomfortably in a pew instead of squatting cross-legged on the floor or ground according to his natural habit. Better than any guide-book for the traveler—missionary or non-missionary—who wants to enjoy and appreciate India are the Bible and Rudyard Kipling's story of Kim, plus of course the sacred stories and poems of Hinduism.

IX

INTERRELIGIOUS COURTESY

ONE of the finest things that the Y. M. C. A. is doing in India for Christianity is the publication from its national headquarters in Calcutta of the sacred books of the Indians' own religion. For one thing it is a great act of interreligious courtesy and of tolerance which has gone a long way toward arousing the sympathy and respect of Brahmans. Also it has placed at the disposal of the Christian missionaries the Hindu writings which they must know if they are to make any headway with Indians outside the illiterate depressed classes. Most of the missionaries have become familiar with these things, and the more appreciative and sympathetic they are, the greater success they have in the cause of Christianity. It is a great improvement on the old attitude that everything that was not Christianity was heathen rubbish. It goes farther. Most important of all, it is a part of the new realization that the Indians themselves are such a devoutly religious people that they may be entrusted with a new faith unhampered by foreign customs which to them are meaningless.

A devout Indian, for example, wants to remove his sandals, if he wears any, before going into a holy place. He feels sacrilegious if he does not. It is far easier for him to understand the Lord's Prayer than to know why he should keep his shoes on but remove his turban when he is repeating it or listening to it.

Fortunately, the Bible needs no Indianization, for it is Eastern and the Indians take to it as eagerly as to their own books. It is read by many who are not converts. In the forty years ending 1921, the number of Indian Christians increased two and a half times, but in ten years ending with 1921 the distribution of the Bible and its parts by the British and Foreign Bible Society doubled. There were 4,754,000 Christians in India in 1921, but nearly twelve million Bibles had been distributed in the country during the preceding ten years. It has been translated into 101 of the 220 languages spoken in India, but the 101 are the vernaculars of nearly five-sixths of the total population of 319,000,000. The next big work which the Society hopes to undertake is to provide New Testaments for the half million men and women of India who are blind.

Among the changes which missionaries are contemplating and believe should be made are those that have to do only with externals, such as

church architecture, music and forms of service. Every one of them would take Christian observance back toward the simplicity of its earliest period before theologians and politicians fought about it. The Sermon on the Mount would have an even better chance than it has now in the villages of the Himalayas and on the plains of South India.

Neither the steeple of the New England church nor the arches of a Gothic cathedral of Europe is vital to Christianity and, as beautiful as they both are, they are not the best models for an Indian place of worship. Neither are Moody and Sankey or even Gregorian chants as effective in India as in the lands of their origin. The Indian is brought more easily and naturally to the thought of the Christian God by the rhythm of his own drum than by the hymns of the Westerners. In a previous chapter I referred to the splendid work in Christian minstrelsy being done in South India by an English missionary, H. A. Popley, who sings Bible stories in the villages to a music that is familiar to his hearers. Up north in the Delhi area I saw the same thing in operation when two American Methodist missionaries, S. W. Clemes, and E. M. Rugg, took me out to a service in a settlement of Chamars, or outcaste leather workers. None of these people had as yet been converted to

Christianity—there was sufficient proof of the fact in the various stone shrines in the inclosure back of their huts. But they were nevertheless glad to see us and asked for a Christian service.

One old man came out with the dholak, or long drum. The outcastes, men and boys, sat on the ground in a circle about the missionaries and the Indian preacher who had come with them. A group of women, the most skeptical members of the colony, sat a little distance off near their own idols, with their faces covered in the beginning. But they, too, became interested before the meeting was over, pushed aside their head coverings and beat time with their hands. In the meantime the preacher had sung the bhojans or stories, of Christ to the accompaniment of the old man's drum; and all the Chamars sang with him, for he had been there before and they knew the words as well as the tunes. He said the Lord's Prayer and they listened with their foreheads touching the ground. It was not conventional—but it was devotion.

A few weeks before, I had attended a service of Indian Christians in a meeting-house which had been designed to resemble an American village church as closely as the carpentry and building materials of the East would permit. There were pews in which the converts tortured them-

selves for an hour or more, although a brave few sat on the floor back of the seats. There were the usual number of American hymns sung to the accompaniment of a piano but without any of the fervour that the men and boys of the Chamar settlement put into their singing. Somebody passed a hat at the proper time. That is another custom which the Indians cannot understand. It seems like a secular performance to them, like paying for watching the tricks of the juggler or snake charmer. As poor as they are they want to give and do give to the Christian enterprise and they have not yet learned the Western device of citing the story of the widow's mite as an excuse for contributing the lowest possible minimum. But they don't want to drop their money in a hat. On the contrary, they want to place their silver or copper coins, the rice or whatever else they have to offer on the altar themselves, making that, too, an act of devotion and prayer.

Already the Indians in a few regions have been encouraged by the missionaries to build their own Christian temples to suit themselves. For the most part these structures are enclosed courts for outdoor worship in the dry season, under the shade of palms, with a covered colonnade for protection when the rains come. As a rule they are built of mud and thatch, the same material used

in the village houses, and wherever necessary they are screened against the invasion of monkeys. These temples are decorated by the women. Of course there is no reason why native churches should not be much more beautiful and elaborate than that; and they will be eventually, without ceasing to be of typical Indian architecture. But that is a matter of detail and not of principle. In the meantime the natives find it more natural to worship in a consecrated place of their own kind than in what seems to them a curiosity of foreign architecture. Incidentally it does not take one-tenth so many rupees to build a church Indian fashion as to put up a conventional structure, no matter how simple. This is all regardless of the fact that there are many splendid Christian churches, both Protestant and Catholic, throughout the East. Throughout the world there is no more lovely cathedral than that of the Church of England in Singapore. To the weary traveler from a Western country there could be nothing more peaceful, homelike and inviting than the old Church of Scotland in Calcutta. No matter where he came from in America, no matter what his denomination may have been, that church is something he has known before, perhaps in a New England village or in a town beyond the Mississippi. And if the same weary traveler is entirely honest with himself he will admit that

there are moments when he would rather sit in a hard pew in that Church of Scotland and be told for an hour that Jonah really did keep alive in the whale, than to go into real or pretended ecstasies over a million Taj Mahals.

But the point is that Indians are not weary travelers from a Western country. The way of the East is for them the simplest approach to the religion of Jesus Christ.

Most of the adaptations that are required to bring Christianity and its forms of worship into closer harmony with the Indian temperament and religious tradition are in the direction of greater simplicity. However, the Indians do love colour and pageantry. The slow processional appeals to them. Over in Ceylon the Christians have recently achieved a notable success in devising a great annual religious festival which in its outward character somewhat resembles a celebration, centuries old, of the Buddhists.

“The Protestant Christians from America and England do not appeal sufficiently to our imagination,” an unconverted Brahman said to me. “The fact that there are many more Catholics than Protestants in India is not entirely explained by the Catholics having begun their missionary work first. The celibacy and greater asceticism of their priests seems to the Indian more in keeping with the life of holy men than

the domestic customs of the Protestant clergymen and missionaries. But also the Protestant service lacks colour. It has too many rules and not enough spontaneity.

“Better than either the Catholic or the Protestant form would be a real Indian Christianity. Don’t try to dominate us in religion as you have in politics. Instead of thinking that the West has a monopoly of Christ, try to remember that you are bringing back to the East a great religion that was born in the East. You have done a great many things to it in two thousand years and some of those things seem extraneous and harmful to us. You take pride in attributing to Christianity as a cause some developments which we would be ashamed to hold any religion responsible for. Let India have an opportunity of making its own interpretation of Christianity. Nobody can ever rob you of the honour of having brought it back to us and perhaps that should be sufficient. Don’t abandon us. Keep on doing what is your most Christian work of all—teaching us how to take care of our bodies—and perhaps we can teach you something you have not yet learned about the welfare of your souls.

“In the meantime it would be a splendid but probably impossible thing if the missionaries could work among us without showing their own sectarian and denominational differences. To the

Hindu every day is a temple day and all days are equally holy. He can't understand, for example, why there should be a controversy among Christians as to whether he should go to church on a Saturday or a Sunday. But the serious result among the illiterate Indians whom you are converting by the tens of thousands is that your denominational differences are apt to encourage the spirit of caste which the missionaries themselves, as well as all progressive and educated Indians, want to exterminate.

“The bulk of the converts cannot know or understand the historical and philosophical causes which have split Christians into so many groups. They simply discover that they themselves have become different kinds of Christians; which makes less clear for them the idea of the Fatherhood of their new god, but which does fit in exactly with their century-old traditions of caste. As Hindus they were low caste or no caste, scavengers or sweepers, robbers or leather workers. As Christians they are Baptists or Methodists or Catholics or Presbyterians. And as such, with their natural and traditional tendencies toward division, they have a capacity of thinking even less of each other than rival denominations do in America and England.”

Another psychologically helpful custom which the Indian misses when converted from Hindu-

ism to Protestant Christianity is that of the pilgrimage.

It should be a part of the training and experience of every new missionary in India to go to Benares on the Ganges, the most ancient and sacred of all the cities, the most holy of the rivers, and there watch the pilgrims when they go down to the stream to pray and bathe. It is not a sight-seeing excursion for the missionary but a pilgrimage of his own to get a glimpse of the tremendous hold of Hinduism for which he has volunteered to substitute Christianity. To me it was the most impressive thing in all Asia.

For miles along the stone steps and terraces leading down from many temples to the water's edge I saw the faithful thousands stand with outstretched arms holding their brass jars filled from the sacred river toward the rising sun. They were not worshiping the sun as God but making their devotions to the greatest manifestation of God they know. A little farther upstream, groups of mourners were burning their dead after dipping the red and white shrouded bodies in the current for the last time. There is no time throughout the day when there is not occasion for these burnings.

For sound there are the temple bells, the chanting of the holy men, the crackling of burning wood. For colour there is the rose gray of the

terraces in the morning light, the blue and yellow and white robes and turbans of many groups of men and women moving slowly up and down the steps, the luster of brass and copper, the gleaming brown backs of the half naked bathers, the white and black bodies of goats and cattle wandering about on the stone platforms hunting a trace of grass, and over it all the streamers of blue smoke from the funeral pyres.

The worshipers themselves see little or nothing of this amazing picture, for they are a part of it. Let the missionary ignore it, too, if he can, and watch the face of any one pilgrim, man or woman, rapt and transfigured in the great moment of prayer and faith. He will then know what a tremendous task he has promised to do in coming to India. He will get something that is needed to supplement the religious instruction of his college in America.

X

BURMA TAKES HER TWO RELIGIONS LIGHTLY

IN Burma I found the story of the Christian missionaries to be chiefly that of the century and more of effort on the part of the Baptists from the northern United States, with a footnote concerning the more recent undertakings of the American Methodists, who are specializing among the Chinese immigrants in that country. But the results, stated numerically, as the outcome of one hundred years did not seem encouraging.

Of Burma's total population of thirteen millions, a shade less than two per cent. are rated as of the Christian community. Sixty-two per cent. of all the Christians are the converts of or under the influence of the American Baptists. Twenty-eight per cent. are Catholics. Considering Burma as a separate country and not as a part of India, which it is only in the political sense, the Baptists here have the unusual distinction of winning for Protestantism a larger proportion of Christians in an Asiatic territory than belongs to the Catholics.

But regardless of denominations and percentages the case of Burma, religiously and every other way, is very different from that of the rest of British India, of which it is a province. It is governed in the same way and sends its delegates to the national Indian legislature at Delhi. But there is nothing else in common. Going there from northern India seemed to me something like stepping out of a performance of Macbeth to listen to a musical comedy.

Geographically the country is remote. To get there I had a four-day journey down the Bay of Bengal from Calcutta to Rangoon, the chief Burman city. On that voyage, as on my seventeen-day run from Egypt to the island of Ceylon, the ship's company provided hourly demonstrations of the religious differences of the East and the consequent difficulties of missionaries. There were hundreds of steerage passengers huddled on the open decks forward and aft over the hatches of a small cargo ship. They had no shelter except that of the awnings spread during the day to keep off the blistering sun; and for the four days and nights they slept, ate and prayed in a mass so dense that nobody could move without stepping over somebody else. There was not room to wedge in another sleeping baby and the babies required much less deck space than the great bamboo cages containing the game roosters and many

other pet birds of the passengers. Below decks were a thousand live goats and many tons of tea.

But the private cabin walls of the most luxurious liner could not have provided more effective social barriers than the religious and caste and racial differences of those deck passengers, robed in many colours, speaking many dialects and calling on God in their various ways for a safe voyage at all hours of the day and night. Burmese girls of Mandalay, forever combing and oiling their hair and eating and laughing, squatted close beside Hindu women, veiled from head to foot, who never spoke. Indian mystics carried on their meditations entirely oblivious to the cock-fights between the birds of the happy-go-lucky travelers returning to their jungle huts in the valley of the Irrawaddy after finding other parts of India too gloomy for them. The smoke from many little sand-filled fire jars blended, but the food and the manner of cooking which made a feast for one group was only a sign of infidels to others squatting around another brazier within arm's reach. There was a water butt for Mohammedans and another for Hindus. One of the ship's officers assured me that nothing would start a riot on that deck more effectively than the mixing of those two drinking supplies drawn from different wells equally sacred and, no doubt, equally polluted.

Temperamentally, psychologically and religiously Burma is even more remote than she is in miles. There is an entirely different atmosphere of both religion and non-religion in which the Christians of India and Burma must do their work, and the bulk of the disadvantage is with the missionary in the latter country. Buddhism, which originated in India in the sixth century before Christ, long since became practically extinct in that country, but it has been the prevailing religion of Burma for many hundreds of years. Its adherents now number more than eleven millions, or eighty-five per cent. of the entire population. The next largest group are the people of no recognized religion whatever, the animists, or spirit worshipers, whose only hope and faith are that they may placate demons and evil spirits by incantations before sticks and stones and other charms. There are nearly a million of these animists. Hindus and Mohammedans have less than a million between them, about equally divided. Fifth and last in the list are the Protestants and Catholic Christians, numbering 257,000 according to the last Indian Government census. But that is an over-liberal estimate including many unbaptized thousands.

Burma lacks all the elements of misery which, in India, give the missionaries their most effective approach in the work of conversions. There are

no famines such as India has periodically, always with a harvest of tens of thousands of new Christians resulting from missionary relief work. There is no caste system with its resulting millions of the outcastes and depressed who are willing to listen to the stories of another religion and a different civilization as a means of escape. The only trivial approach to any such thing in Burma is among the half million Hindus of the country and in the custom of the Buddhists themselves to despise idol makers and pagoda slaves.

Theoretically Buddhists never worship idols, but most of the Burmese Buddhists do. Perhaps it is to ease their conscience that they make a social business of ostracizing the makers of the idols.

I saw as many Buddhist pagodas and shrines along the banks of the Irrawaddy as there are Hindu temples on the banks of the Ganges, but the notable stream of Burma is in no sense a holy river. Buddhists bathe in it, not as a sacred rite but for the fun of swimming. Also they fish in it notwithstanding that Buddhism strictly forbids the taking of any life, animal or human. The cheerful Burman explains that he does not take the life of the fish; he simply pulls it out of the river and it dies for lack of water for which he does not hold himself responsible. So the Buddhist enjoys his fishing all the more because

of the joke he can make out of it at the expense of his faith. It is one of the many little things characteristic of a temperament which makes the work of the missionary difficult. Another minor fact illustrating the same thing is that the Buddhist dealer in curios at Rangoon or Mandalay will sell images of Buddha to travelers. Over on the island of Ceylon, where Buddhism of a purer and more rigid form prevails, the storekeeper of that faith would consider it a sacrilege to sell a Buddha.

Burma's greater degree of literacy among non-Christians does not seem to be a factor in the task of the missionary. In that country among the males over ten years old, 576 out of every thousand of the population can read and write his native language. In the rest of India only 161 in the thousand have that ability. Among women, 123 out of a thousand Burmans are literate while the corresponding figure for India is only twenty-three. These figures are accounted for so far as men are concerned by the fact that in Burma every Buddhist boy who amounts to anything at all is expected to spend a few months of his life at least wearing the yellow robe and carrying the begging bowl of the monk. No girl with any family traditions back of her would think of marrying a man who had not served his time as a monk. This involves a period

of instruction in a Buddhist monastery. Hence Burma's high percentage of literacy. But literacy in this sense is not synonymous with education for the boys who become short-term priests because of a social custom and not because of any personal convictions in the matter. The real education of the country is furnished by the British government schools and university, the great Judson College and many subordinate schools of the American Baptists; the Methodist schools chiefly for both Buddhist and Christian Chinese children.

In their college, nineteen high schools and many intermediate and primary schools, the Baptists are teaching, all told, more than forty thousand boys and girls. The teachers in the lower grades are native Christians who have been trained in the Baptist normal schools. The education is provided regardless of the religion of the pupils. Any child is welcome; but Christian instruction is part of the course. In each school there is provision for free instruction for ten per cent. of the pupils. The others pay nominal fees. Half of the difference between the income from such fees and the cost of operation is paid by the British Government with the understanding that in courses and examinations the schools must conform to the government standards. The other half is paid by the American Baptist Mission.

The total amount sent last year to Burma from the United States for education and other missionary work was \$255,000 from the American Baptist Missionary Society and an additional \$80,000 from the women's auxiliary organization.

Whether this money is spent on students who are Christians or may become such or on those who will go through life as Buddhists depends on the character of the individual school. In the schools for Burmese not twenty-five per cent. of the children are of Christian parents and there is not much expectation that that proportion will be increased. In the schools for the Karens, or animistic hill people of the country, the Christian percentage is never less than seventy-five, and in many localities not only the whole school but the entire adult community is Christian. The justification of the Christian missionary in Burma is in the work that has been done with these hill tribes both in their mountain villages and after they have migrated down to the plains. But only about seven per cent. of the total population are Karens.

The Swaraj movement in Burma—that is, a nationalistic demand for complete self-government accompanied by agitation against foreigners—is not now a disturbing factor in the missionary situation, although for a time it caused much trouble and produced a great deal of anx-

iety among the American and English Christians. But the movement is petering out. At its best it was only a poor imitation of Swaraj in India and it had no Gandhi for a leader. Its prime movers were Buddhist monks who overreached themselves even with their own people by trying to become leaders in politics. The one notable act of violence was the attack by young monks on two missionaries, a man and his wife, both on the faculty of Judson College. They were set upon at night as they were walking by the Buddhist monastery and both were seriously injured.

The only constructive thing undertaken by the Buddhist priests was the opening of nationalist schools from which all Christians, both teachers and pupils, were excluded. These schools repudiated government aid by refusing to conform to government rules concerning curriculum and courses. They urged all Buddhist families to remove their sons and daughters from the Christian schools and send them to the schools of the monks, and for a while there was a stampede of such pupils away from the educational institutions of the missionaries. Also the nationalists insisted that Buddhist students remaining in Christian schools should avail themselves of the government conscience clause and refuse all religious instruction. Very few students did so. In one of the Baptist high schools two boys

claimed the right to go to the school without receiving Christian teaching. They were shifted from a class in Bible instruction to a course in ethics. Within a week they defied the monks and their families and begged to be transferred back to Bible, chiefly because it was easier.

But the national school movement, with the slogan that the only patriotism was Buddhism, sagged off in a few months. Neither parents nor students cared for the quality of the instruction given by the monks. There was nothing in it to qualify a Burman boy for the coveted jobs under the government or for the clerkships in the big mercantile houses and banks of the Chinese and English business men. So the people began to send their children back to the Christian schools and to cut off their contributions for the monks' educational enterprise. The priests abandoned their earlier scorn of government aid and asked for it. But before they could receive it they had to put the conscience clause into effect in their own schools, and raise their educational standards by adopting the methods and courses of the Christian schools and by getting teachers with training other than that of the monasteries. Only a few of the nationalist schools survived the ordeal and the only serious undertaking in the Swaraj program broke down.

The rest of the anti-Christian activity took the

form of mere nagging. For example, the monks put into effect a new rule that foreigners must not only remove their shoes but their stockings before entering the Shwe Dagôn, the chief Buddhist temple in Rangoon and one of the most notable shrines in all India. Formerly the removal of shoes and the putting on of sandals to protect the stocking feet had been sufficient. Under the new order even the sandals are barred. One must enter barefooted or not at all. The result is that Europeans and Americans have deprived themselves of visiting a most interesting place. The few who did go barefooted warned others against the filth of the place. The warning spread and there has been a most serious falling off in the tips and fees by which the monks and temple slaves were supported. There is no sale of the little squares of gold leaf which visitors used to buy at the entrance to lay upon the shrines as an offering, and which were used by the monks in the constant work of keeping the big pagoda and the many lesser temples regilded. The privilege of being a beggar before the Buddhist altars has lost all its commercial advantage.

This staying away from the place is not for the purpose of a counter boycott against the monks but merely a matter of hygiene. The necessity of avoiding the hideous hairless dogs which infest the temple and are as loathsome as the displayed

sores of the grotesque cripples and beggars who creep and crawl over the pavement to get their rupees was bad enough. Now, in addition to that, one must avoid stepping barefoot into actual puddles of the filthy red saliva of the betel nut chewers. Constant dodging and stepping over and around detracts from one's interest in an amazing place. It is so everywhere in India, where the betel habit is more universal even than gum chewing in America. The only way in which an American who is at all squeamish can have even an approach to a state of brotherhood and international-mindedness in India or Burma is to remember all the time that we used to chew a great deal of tobacco in the United States.

Aside from its excrescences, Shwe Dagôn is both a perfect symbol of the gay and festive state to which Buddhism has deteriorated in Burma and an index of the difficulties of the missionaries. It explains why in thirteen years more than a century the Baptists have succeeded in bringing only seven thousand out of eleven millions to Christianity as against one hundred and thirty-five thousand Karens.

The temple inclosure filled in with many gilt and red and green shrines all dominated by the lofty gold point of the main pagoda reminded me of Coney Island. If the grinning red and yellow dragons were all removed from the walls of the

shrines, mounted on merry-go-rounds and set going in circles to the tune of a steam-driven hurdy-gurdy and with happy Burmese on their backs, the resemblance would not be more complete. In place of the fortune tellers of the popular American resort I saw the long cylindrical wishing stones which are kept in the shrines to the Buddha in defiance of all his teaching.

The spirit of the place, no less than its physical appearance—always gaudy and tawdry except by moonlight—is also the spirit of Coney. The temple is the place of hilarious fun rather than meditation. There is more smoke from the cheroots of the temple girls than from the incense on the altars. Decoration and festivity reach their height on the day that the body of a dead monk is to be burned.

Nobody would expect much from a mission sent to Coney Island on a hot holiday afternoon to convert people to a new religion less gay and more difficult than the one they had. It is equally unreasonable to expect any large number of Christian converts from the Burmese Buddhists. Their religion is half frolic and half superstition, as unlike true Buddhism as animism is unlike Christianity. It produces no such great mystics and philosophers as there are in India among the few intelligent Hindus, who decline Christian conversion but give sympathetic study to Chris-

tian religion. On the other hand the spirit of Shwe Dagôn and thousands of similar pagodas all through Burma does not produce the moody effect that Hinduism has on the illiterate Indians, which often makes them easier material for missionaries but which—unfortunately more often—develops among the men into a sort of pouting, effeminate air of always being injured and misunderstood. There is no question that they are injured and misunderstood; but they make a bad matter worse by a mawkish sort of reaction to their grievances.

There is nothing of that sort in Burma. The people get so much fun out of simple and easily obtained joys in this world that they cannot be brought to working for or thinking hard about salvation in the next. If they want to take the trouble to justify themselves they fall back on the real philosophy of Buddhism, which teaches that there is no next existence beyond Nirvana, no god and no soul. But they are very shy of that other teaching of Buddha that the only way to attain Nirvana is by getting rid of all desires. That has been modified in Burma to read that it is foolish to desire things the getting of which requires hard work. So the natives let the Chinese immigrants from Canton and Amoy acquire their wealth by being the bankers and merchants of Burma. They let the coolies from India do the

hard work of the land while they themselves "acquire merit" by enjoying themselves.

The Rev. W. R. Garrard, a missionary of Mandalay, says that he doubts if there is any Christian approach to Buddhism. He bases his doubt on the fact that the Buddhist does not believe in God or the human soul. There is no common ground on which to work, he adds, so it is futile to try anything except the experiment of presenting Christianity as something entirely new which cannot be explained to the Burman by reference to or comparison with anything he has ever known or thought before.

Dr. Wallace St. John, Principal of Judson College, told me that the Buddhists had no faith in anything or anybody, chiefly because they had not learned what faith is by believing in God. As an illustration he cited the case of the many padlocks to be seen on the door of a Burmese store. There are as many padlocks as there are partners in the business concern, sometimes as many as five or six. Each one must have his own lock so that the place cannot be opened until all are there. They won't trust each other.

"It is the same way with education," continued Doctor St. John. "The Christian Karens approve of coeducation but the Burmese Buddhists insist on separating their boys and girls beyond the lowest grades simply because they take

it for granted that when a boy and a girl are together there will be immorality as a matter of course. They have absolutely no faith in their own children."

But there is abundance of superstition. Miss Helen K. Hunt, Dean of Women in the Judson College at Rangoon, showed me an essay written by one of her students on the medical practice to-day among her own people, the Burmans. When there is a case of illness the family and neighbours first load the sick person with food and then call in the doctor, who burns charcoal over a bamboo rod and makes incantations to learn what spirit is responsible for the trouble. If it is a case of worms or fever, as it generally is with a child, the sickness has been caused by the flying away of the butterfly spirit. The doctor pretends to catch it, using his turban as a butterfly net. It is really a hair of his own head that he shows as the recaptured spirit. This is soaked in oil and put in a cloth bound around the child's neck. The patient is then fed on rice steamed in sandal-wood water. There are many gift cures, by which sick people imagine themselves made well by receiving presents from those who have been responsible for their illness. There was the case of a girl who had attended her brother after he had been stabbed in a quarrel and whose blood stained her hands. The brother died and the sis-

ter became ill. The doctor declared that nothing could save her except a present from the man whose blood she had touched. That was obviously impossible so nothing further was done and the woman was allowed to die.

Water from a jar in which a monk has spat is considered helpful in many of the ninety-six different diseases recognized by the Burmese. This water is sipped by the patient and rubbed on the forehead. Prior to her confinement a woman is told to wear a young palm leaf with the letters of the Burmese alphabet scratched upon it upside down. This is to assure successful delivery of the child.

The college girl who wrote this essay ended with the following paragraph: "And now the city diseases of the plague and syphilis are coming into the villages and the jungle. What can my country do?"

Another young woman student at Judson College, herself a Christian, told me something about her mother, an old Buddhist woman living the life of a hermit in the mountains. "My father was a Buddhist too," said the girl, "but before he died he placed me with a Christian family to assure my having an education. My mother was broken-hearted after I finally became a Christian myself and she went off to live alone in the hills. But she lets me help her with the money I earned

as a teacher before coming to college. Also I go to see her whenever I can.

“Once I found her in the hut with a corpse beside her on the floor. It was not the body of anybody she had ever known or heard of but just a dead body which a monk had brought her at her own request. She sat gazing at it when I reached home. It was for the purpose of making herself realize that life is worthless, that the living human being amounts to no more than the dead body, that there is no God and that the only hope is in not living again in another body. She was trying to acquire merit, as the Buddhists say, by ridding herself of all desire so she would not live again and she had the corpse there to help her. She touched my hair and then that of the body to show that I would soon be like it and asked me to join her in her meditations, to stay with her and give up my Christianity. I could not, but I love her. She is very old.”

There are seventy women students in Judson College and fifty of them are Christians, but nearly all of that half hundred were from Karen ancestors. Buddhist girls in the college are practically immune to conversion, and the student who told me of her mother's gruesome vigil was a rare exception.

Nobody is ever supposed to write anything whatever about Burma without referring to the

loveliness and the laughter of the girls in the temples and the bazaars. The customary statement may be amended to advantage by substituting the young women students of Judson College. They laugh as much as their sisters outside and perhaps do not do much more hard thinking, but, whether converted or not, their attendance at a Christian school means the giving up of the betel nut—which adds one hundred per cent. to their attractiveness. Also they manage to play tennis in spite of skirts that touch their insteps and without tumbling down the mounds of their glorious black hair coiled six inches high on the tops of their heads. They do not play a fast game but it is better for the health and the figure than squatting all day long in the bazaars and smoking cheroots.

Obviously the progress of the missionaries among the Burmans must be slow, and it will be many generations before the native churches can be left to themselves to carry on without the guidance of foreign Christians. It took Adoniram Judson, the Baptist pioneer, seven years to convert his first Burman, Moung Nau. Of course that included the time needed for the tedious preliminary work of learning the Burmese language and translating parts of the Bible into the vernacular. But even now, with the missionaries familiar with the languages and with

many Bibles available in the native tongue, the process—except among the Karens—is painfully slow.

There is no such thing as the Indian mass movement by which whole communities may be won over. Conversion can be only by individuals, in rare cases by families; and it is a matter of years. If a Burmese Buddhist is converted to Christianity after two years of teaching, persuasion and help and the schooling of his children, it is considered a quick piece of work. One handicap is the brevity of what may be called, without disrespect, the open season for conversions. Because of the rainy season and the killing heat through a great part of the year there are not more than four months out of every twelve when work in the jungle and villages of the delta is possible. The best times are in November and December before the paddy, or rice harvest, and immediately after it, in January and February. Then the missionaries travel down the streams by small boats and cover many additional miles in bullock carts.

Each group usually consists of two American women missionaries or an American man and his wife, together with native preachers and Bible women. They must carry their food supplies for the whole journey, tents for shelter, sometimes a big tent for meetings, mosquito netting and a

plentiful stock of medicines, dental forceps and other simple surgical tools with which to help the people out of their many sicknesses and pains. The most effective approach is through such help. At each village the permission of the headman to stay for a while must be obtained; but there is never any difficulty about getting that, for the Burmese enjoy anything that is new and which they can consider as a show or entertainment. There are village meetings with preaching, storytelling and much singing. There is no hymn which the ease-loving Burmese sing with more vim than "To the work, to the work." In addition to the meetings there is much individual work done in the shacks in which the people live by the Americans and their native assistants. After several days of this, the missionary group moves on to the next community. Sometimes they leave new converts behind them, more frequently they must wait another year before knowing what results, if any, have followed their effort.

With the Karens of the animistic hill tribes the work is and always has been much easier and far more productive of quick but permanent results. Many Karen villages are now one-hundred-per-cent. Christian. Some of them have self-sustaining churches, and the natives themselves send out their own missionaries to help the

foreign Christians. By constant work among these people the Protestants and Catholics have reduced the number of charm and spirit worshippers in Burma to something less than a million, which goes a long way toward offsetting the slim results with the Burmese Buddhists, who also worship idols without admitting it.

The greater success among the hill tribes was explained to me as the result of a centuries-old legend that the Karens had been passing on among themselves from generation to generation. The myth was that their ancestors had possessed a miraculous book which had contained the secrets of life and death and happiness; that the book had been stolen; that some day it would be brought back by a great white bird.

Then came the missionaries in a ship with sails of canvas instead of yellow woven matting of reeds and palm leaves. The strange ship was the white bird. It brought back the stolen book which the missionaries assured them contained the secrets of life and happiness they had lost. So the Karens accepted the Bible.

Furthermore, it is evidently simpler to convert people who believe in many spirits and many gods to a faith in one God than to convince those who say there is no god and no soul.

XI

ISLAM RULES THE MALAYS

FOUR of the world's great historical religions have fought to establish themselves among the people of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. Hinduism and Buddhism, which came first and thrived, ceased to be dominant centuries ago. Mohammedanism defeated them and became the prevailing religion among fifty millions of people; which it is to-day, with no sign of crumbling. Christianity is now struggling to get a real foothold, but has made not much more than a small dent in the religious situation of this part of the world after a century of missionary effort.

None of the four faiths, including successful Islam, has been able to put more than a veneer, sometimes thick but more often thin, over the original superstitious spirit worship, or animism, of the native race. Moreover, the superstitions which the foreign religions brought along with them have survived in Malay long after dying out in the countries of their origin. In the modern city of Singapore to-day, for example, the Hindus have their group fire walks, in which hundreds of people make a ceremony of parad-

ing back and forth over live coals in compliance with vows made to their gods. They also stick their faces and bodies full of silver pins. The Hindus of India no longer follow these customs. The Malay Christian, when he is ill or wants to ward off some evil, will use his Bible as a charm or sleep with it under his pillow, very much as the American Christian knocks on wood or throws spilled salt over his left shoulder.

The Malay people in the Philippine Islands to the north form the exception for the entire group so far as the statistics of the religions are concerned. The Mohammedans did not make the invasion of their faith effective so far north as that when they overran what are now British Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. So when the Spanish Catholics took possession of the Philippines they found nothing to stand in the way of Christianity but animism, and conversions were simple. Of the ten million Filipinos now occupying the American possessions, eight million are Catholics and one hundred and twelve thousand are Protestants. There are about half a million Mohammedans in the Philippines. The rest of the population is animistic.

In the other Malay regions to the south the Catholic Christians from Spain and Portugal made but little headway against Mohammedans, and the Protestants have had even less success.

However, the process of "Christianizing" as something apart from conversion and baptism has made far more progress. Two incidents just about a century apart illustrate the fact. In 1816 two Boston missionaries, Lyman and Munson, were killed and eaten by Malay cannibals. In 1925 Miss Edith Louise McKee, a young American woman, and a student at Randolph-Macon College, when on a voyage around the world, died of smallpox at Singapore and was buried there. Her father, James N. McKee, of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, gave in her memory to the Methodist Mission School at Singapore a fund sufficient to provide for the education of nine Malay girls each year. These nine Christian descendants of Malay savages, accompanied by all their schoolmates, carry flowers to the grave of the Randolph-Macon girl twice a year, on the American Memorial Day and on the anniversary of Miss McKee's death.

This change in a century in the customs of the people and their attitude toward foreigners, of which there are many illustrations, is the true measure of what the American and European missionaries have accomplished by their religious and secular teaching and with their medicine. The meager figures showing the actual number of conversions are not a fair indication. For example, in the Straits Settlements and the Fed-

erated and Independent states of the Malay Peninsula there are only ten thousand baptized Protestant Christians out of a total population of three and a third million. There are at least twice as many Catholics. But practically all of these converts to the two great branches of Christianity came from the Chinese immigrants to the Peninsula and from the adherents of Buddhism and Hinduism, the two faiths which are now decadent so far as the Malay countries are concerned.

Christianity has won practically no followers from the Mohammedan Malays. There are similar proportions in Java, Sumatra, Borneo and the lesser islands of the Dutch East Indies, where out of a total population of fifty millions there are less than half a million baptized Protestant communicants to the credit of more than seven thousand foreign and native missionaries working in more than two hundred separate stations and with twelve hundred organized churches. The Protestants, however, claim about 800,000 islanders all told as being either in the church membership or under Christian influence and instruction. But of this total only 45,000 came from Mohammedan ranks. In other words, less than one Mohammedan in a thousand becomes Christian.

The recruits for the missionaries in the Dutch

East Indies came originally from the native Catholics who were suddenly switched over to Protestantism when Holland obtained possession—the same thing that had happened in Ceylon. After religious freedom was granted in the islands the Catholics won back a large part of the Christian population and since then the missionaries of both main branches of Christianity have worked chiefly with the Chinese, the Hindu and Buddhist remnants and the animists. There, as in the Peninsula, Islam is apparently invulnerable. The strength of that faith in the East Indies is indicated by the fact that of all the faithful who make the pilgrimage to Mecca each year from all Mohammedan countries, about half are from Java and Sumatra.

It is the Chinese element in the population of Malaya that saves the situation for Christianity and also provides the most progressive and reliable factor in the commercial and industrial life of the country. More than half of the four hundred thousand people of the city of Singapore are Chinese. They come down as penniless immigrants and generally make their start in the new country as jinrikisha men. There are nine thousand of these vehicles in the city, and most of them are drawn by Chinese. The native Malays who come from the village into the city want to drive automobiles as taxis, but they never get

beyond that. The Chinaman very soon graduates from his jinrikisha to a shop, then to a bank and then to ownership in the rubber plantations.

Rubber, by the way, which was not indigenous in the East but transferred there less than a century ago from South America as an experiment, has taken the place of the spices in the romance and wealth of the Indies. Here and there in Malaya there is still left a descendant of the sacred Bo trees which the Buddhists brought with them from Ceylon. But there are many square miles of rubber trees and nobody who has an interest in them is likely to "acquire merit" according to the teachings of Buddha by getting rid of desires and possessions.

Once convert a Chinese immigrant from his Taoism, Buddhism or Confucianism, and he is as devoted and enthusiastic a worker in his Christian church as he is in his business. The start which the missionaries have been able to make recently among the head-hunters of Borneo and elsewhere is due largely to the support of Chinese rubber planters who have given land and money for the erection of churches, schools and mission stations. There was a recent illustration of a different sort of this same devotion given by Goh Hood Keng, a Chinese Christian clergyman who was supposed to be dying of leprosy in a hospital in Calcutta. Despite his illness he wrote

his weekly sermon in the hospital and mailed it down to Singapore to be read to his congregation. The man afterward recovered. Sixty per cent. of the ten thousand Christians in the Malay Peninsula are Chinese.

Needless to say, the Christians make no discriminations against Mohammedans in their educational, medical and other humanitarian offerings. On the contrary the Mohammedans receive fully as much as any others of the secular gains which the missionaries have brought, but they take them as a matter of course. For example, in the matter of medicine—by means of which the missionaries generally make their initial approach toward non-Christians—the attitude of the Mohammedans is that it is the business of the infidels to cater to the physical welfare and comfort of the faithful followers of Mohammed. They feel the same way about education and the social and athletic advantages of such institutions as the Y. M. C. A. These are all modern inventions of the West which Mohammedans accept as tribute without the slightest notion of accepting the religion of the West. They feel no obligation in the matter whatever.

Furthermore the religion of Islam fits exactly the temperament of the Malay, who is—thanks to his climate and to the ease with which he can satisfy his physical needs in the tropics—a very

lazy person, according to Western standards. He has a religion which promises him a sensuous sort of eternal paradise in the hereafter, which fits very closely into his ideas of what constitutes a happy life on earth. And all that is expected of him in return is the faithful saying of his prayers five times a day; which may or may not be done in a most perfunctory manner. He takes his religion as easily as Christians take theirs in America or Europe, and with as little self-restraint and denial. But Christianity as it is offered to him by the missionaries is something requiring more of a moral and mental effort than he wants to make.

Also, like Mohammedans everywhere, he claims immunity to conversion on the ground that his own religion not only has all of the best there is in Christianity but that it is an improvement on it devised six hundred years later. He tells the missionary that Mohammedanism also teaches the one God and that the Koran is full of praise of Jesus as the prophet of God. Altogether Islam is an unsolved problem of the missionaries.

Recently there has been an added difficulty because the Malay people, or the few of them who are educated, are now sharing the scepticism general throughout Asia concerning the morality and sincerity of Western civilization. Here, as in India and China, the cause of the Western

missionary is suffering from the attitude of the Western commercial people.

“The conduct of the white Christian population here is not very creditable,” said the Rev. Dr. Edwin F. Lee, treasurer of the American Methodist Mission in the Malay Peninsula, whom the writer interviewed at Singapore. “There is practically no Sunday observance among them,” he continued. “There is much drinking and an arrogant air of superiority which the native people naturally resent and which is becoming more and more of an obstacle in missionary work. Westernizing and Christianizing, unfortunately, are not synonymous. They may mean exact opposites. But the saddest part of the whole story is the indifference of the Western people here to the ideals of their own civilization. Very few of them are seriously concerned about the projection of Christianity. They are in the East on a commercial venture only. They want to succeed at it as quickly as possible and return to their own countries. Their motive is exactly the same as that of the Chinese who go to America, or who used to go, merely to make enough money to live on at home.

“However, I realize that it is not an easy matter to be both a Christian and a business man in this country. There is no mutual understanding between the foreigner and the native. If the

European tries kindness with the Malay it is apt to be mistaken for weakness, and something that offers an opportunity for unfair advantage. That explains in part why we have so much more arrogance and irritating display of superiority than we have of kindness in the treatment of the people who belong to the country and who remember that the country once belonged to them."

The Rev. Dr. Titus Lowe, Methodist Bishop in Malaya, also finds much to criticize. "The chief menace," he says in the *Malaysia Message*, "is not in Islam nor in Hinduism but in the flagrant immorality in every community throughout the country. Vicious customs having ancient sanctions are still tolerated. New forms of vice, some of them Western importations, flourish with but little check. And we have not yet succeeded in any of the missionary stations in arousing Christian faith and spirit sufficient to offset these evils."

In my interview with Doctor Lee, he took up another phase of the missionary difficulties in the British Malay States and the Dutch East Indies and made the interesting suggestion that the work with Mohammedans in which the Americans and Europeans had utterly failed might yet be accomplished by Malay Christians from the Philippine Islands. Doctor Lee may qualify as an expert in the matter, having had

long missionary service in the Philippines, on the island of Java, and up and down the Malay Peninsula before going to his present post in Singapore.

“I sometimes think,” he said, “that we would do well to recruit our missionary forces among the Mohammedan regions of the Malay country from the Malays of the Philippines, where eighty per cent. of the population is Christian and has been for centuries. The Filipinos had Catholic Christianity under Spanish rule for three hundred years. On top of that they have had more than a quarter of a century of American education. There may not have been much in the Spanish brand of Catholicism which modern missionaries could approve, but it was certainly in advance of the animism and spirit worship in other Malay regions, and it was an improvement on the fire walking and cheek piercing which is practised to this day right here in the modern city of Singapore.

“But it is the educational results of the occupation by the United States for nearly thirty years that have qualified the Filipinos to act as leaders in spiritual matters among other Malays. The American influence has been great and I believe it could be transmitted to other countries as an effective agency for missionary work that cannot be otherwise accomplished. Already the

Malay people of the Peninsula and the Dutch East Indies look upon the Filipinos as the leaders of their race and consider them as superior as white men.

“ Perhaps they would be better than white men so far as missionary effectiveness among Malay Mohammedans is concerned. Personally I think there is a strong likelihood that they would be able to do now what the Arabian traders did centuries ago when they came to this country, bringing Islam with them and making it the dominant faith at the expense of Hinduism and Buddhism, which had preceded it. Those early Mohammedan conquerors and missionaries intermarried with the native people and adapted themselves to the manners and customs of the country as a part of the process of converting it.

“ Western Christian missionaries cannot do that. Filipino Christians could and would. Neither the climate nor the language would be a handicap to them. They would have the same traditions of race and very much the same customs. They could, for example, eat rice with their fingers. It is the multiplicity of such apparently small matters as these habits and customs that makes all the difference. They eliminate awkwardness, self-consciousness and the danger of being patronizing, or seeming to be so, which is just as fatal, from the very manners of

the missionary and substitute a thoroughgoing sympathy and understanding. Furthermore, the Filipinos would intermarry with the people of the Peninsula and the Dutch East Indies just as the Mohammedans did, and there is nothing more effective than that for the spread of a religion.

“ If Christianity is ever to prevail here it must be through some such experiment. It is far better to experiment in the field than for groups of missionary board managers to get together in their offices on Fifth Avenue and decide that with so many dollars and so many men spread over so many square miles of non-Christian territory the world will be converted in a specified number of years. Not long ago we had a slogan, ‘ The whole world Christian in this generation.’ It was harmful as well as silly. It left out of account that against the half billion Christians in the world to-day there are a full billion of adherents of the other historical religions. And it ignored human nature, which is the chief factor in the work of converting people to another faith.”

XII

BUDDHISM THE STATE RELIGION IN SIAM

IN Siam, the country adjoining the Malay Peninsula on the north, the missionaries have made even less progress of the sort that can be shown by statistics. In the Peninsula, as already indicated, the Protestant communicants number about ten thousand in a population of three and a third millions. In Siam, where there is a total population of ten millions, the Protestants have only about eight thousand baptized communicants, with fifteen thousand, all told, more or less under Protestant influence and instruction. This work is almost entirely in the hands of American Presbyterians. The Catholics in Siam number sixty thousand converts.

But Siam, regardless for a moment of missionary work, offers to a traveler a pleasing and happy oasis of independence and sovereignty in a tiresome, continental desert of dominance by outsiders. It is true that the Siamese King has foreign "advisers," both American and English, and they may or may not be interlopers and intruders. And the French have nagged Siam on her Cochin China frontier. But nevertheless the appearance of being on her own is very real in

this kingdom and it produces an altogether different atmosphere. The people are happy and upstanding and independent as individuals. They have never been subjected to continuous official and unofficial "bawling out." There is nothing in town or temple, village or jungle to remind them of their inferiority. They are entirely free of that obsequious cringing and sullen resentment which are very generally characteristic of the people in Asiatic countries less free.

As an American citizen I was glad that the Philippines were not on the schedule of my journey. I should hate to see the people of my own country in the actual process of being dominant.

There are many minor irritations about the business which have nothing to do with politics or ethnology. For example, it is a most unusual American or European woman, unless she is a missionary, who can live permanently in the East without becoming extremely stout. There is nothing she can do in the way of work to offset the enormous amount of eating which is customary among the Westerners.

There is the early breakfast to begin the day; then the real breakfast of porridge, fish, eggs, meats, fruits, jam and toast. Tiffin comes a few hours later, and that is a heavy course meal. Afternoon tea is a lunch. Dinner is as substan-

tial as the American "banquet" used to be when many courses were fashionable at the annual gatherings of associations. So slenderness goes into the discard, and legs and ankles become fat. Lady Dominant, in flesh coloured stockings and short skirt, never looks so absurd and grotesque as when perched upon a jinrikisha drawn by her thin and sweating inferior. So long as the East needs this guidance and protection of the West the women from overseas should either adopt the semi-starvation rice diet of the natives or bring the long skirt back into fashion.

Another peculiarity of the Siamese is that, for the present moment at least, they are the only Asiatic people who feel cordially friendly toward America. It is the one country of the East which an American is allowed to enter without a visa on his passport. It was puzzling. I knew that General Grant visited Siam years ago in his famous journey around the world and the late King of Siam, when Crown Prince, had had an enjoyable time in the United States and been taken up the Hudson to West Point on Charles R. Flint's *Arrow*, the fastest boat in the world at that time. But neither of these incidents seemed sufficient to explain the friendliness of the Siamese in 1926. It occurred to me that perhaps the United States had not lent any money to Siam. Britons of the commercial group in both Calcutta

and Bombay had, in the manner of delegated spokesmen, assured me that America had played the part of the hog and England the part of the jackass in the business of debt settlement. But the only explanation of the feeling of the Siamese people which was obtainable in Bangkok was that in the recent war Siamese soldiers had been treated as friends and fellow fighters by American troops and had been snubbed in all other allied camps.

Obstacles which make Christian missionary progress slow in Siam are the cheerful content of the people with the things they have, including their Buddhism and their animism. There are no famines, no caste system with its inevitable result of large depressed groups of the population. Buddhism is the state and government religion, Siam being the only country in which it has that support and distinction. In its purest and most philosophical form it is the faith of the royal family and the few other educated people. From that it ranges down through the masses, taking on increasing excrescences in the way of superstition and idolatry until it deteriorates into sheer spirit worship. But all the people call themselves Buddhists.

While going up the winding Meñam River to Bangkok, the capital city of Siam, I saw from the ship's rail the body of a dead baby floating

down with the current in a tangle of water hyacinth. Many small sampans going back and forth across the stream went within oar's reach of the baby but none of the boatmen made any effort to recover the body. When I asked why, I was told that they would not dare touch it for fear that the demon spirits still hovering about the child would leave it to torment them.

That incident, with its explanation, was more truly indicative of the religion of the bulk of the ten million Siamese than was the learned dissertation on Buddhism which Prince Damrong, the king's uncle, gave me several days later.

"American missionaries have acquired great merit for themselves by coming to Siam," said the prince; "not because they have brought a new religion to this country but because of the personal sacrifices they have made in order to bring it. To work here in a climate that is unsuitable for them and for very slight material compensation, away from their homes and friends, means the giving up of a great deal. It is by just such giving up that Buddhism teaches salvation. Their religion is good in so far as it is an ethical system like Buddhism. Their commandments and ours are interchangeable. So far as God is concerned educated Buddhists do not accept Him, but the missionaries' idea of deity is a great asset to them in their work among

our illiterate people who have their own personal, household and village spirits.

“ Aside from religion you have brought much that is of immense benefit to Siam—education, Western inventions, sanitation, modern medicine and surgery. The work of the Rockefeller Foundation here, under the direction of Dr. M. E. Barnes, which has no connection whatever with the missionary enterprise, is of tremendous value to this country. He has made possible the treatment of at least a million cases of hookworm. In doing that he has also taught the people of the villages and jungle how to avoid other diseases by adopting more sanitary conditions of living. The Rockefeller Foundation is improving our own native system for medical education and inspection. We feel neither more nor less grateful for this blessing because it does not happen to be connected with the missionaries. We are grateful to the missionaries for bringing us good education, not because they are Christians but because the education is excellent. I have three daughters in the American Presbyterian School. It is only fair that they should attend the classes in religious instruction because their education is given in the name of Christianity. My daughters have perfect liberty, so far as I am concerned, to become Christians. But I do not think they will abandon Buddhism.

“ It is a great mistake to attribute to a religion things that are entirely independent of it. Westerners claim that their railroad and telegraph and all the other modern inventions are due to Christianity. That is as far-fetched as it would be to attribute Siam’s exports of rice and teak-wood to the teachings of Buddha.”

Another uncle of the king, now dead, wrote a four-volume life of Buddha. In it he dismissed all the miracles and superstitions attributed to Buddhism as something which had been deliberately fastened upon it by the early adherents merely for the sake of winning the support of superstitious people and thus building up a vast following. King Chulalongkorn, father of the present ruler, once permitted a government expedition to go to India to obtain Buddhist relics, but the king had no serious interest or faith in the matter himself. When the ship bringing home the supposed bones of Buddha reached the mouth of the river she dropped anchor and word was sent to the king of her arrival. The monks in charge of the expedition supposed that Chulalongkorn would come downstream in the royal barge and make a solemn ceremony of receiving the relics. He did nothing of the sort. He sent word to the monks to put the bones in the wat—temple—at the foot of the river.

“ If they had been the bones of my own father

I should have gone to meet them," said Chulalongkorn; "but I suspect the genuineness of relics. Once I was in Europe and enough fragments of wood, from the cross on which Christ was crucified, to build a ship were shown to me. Siam wants a Protestant, not a Catholic Buddhism."

All of which is relevant to the question as to why the Protestants and Catholics in Siam have such difficulty in reaching the educated people. "We are purging Buddhism of superstition," a Siamese said to me, "and that makes us reluctant to accept a religion whose priests and missionaries insist upon what seems to us to be supernatural and miraculous."

In the face of all this Siamese equivalent for Western modernism in religion the Presbyterian Mission in that country now may be acquiring for itself a new handicap and for its converts a new bewilderment by receiving recruits from the Fundamentalist schools in America for training in emotional exhortation and old-fashioned evangelism based on literal acceptance of the whole Bible, such as William Jennings Bryan approved. These recruits have brought with them their intolerance of the liberal attitude held by the missionaries who have won the respect of the enlightened element in the Siamese population. So far as making conversions among the demon

and spirit worshipers of the jungle is concerned, the Fundamentalists can do just as effective work as the Moderns. But they can have no effect on the educated Buddhists of the ruling and professional groups of Siamese, on men like Prince Damrong, for example. And these are the groups which must be reached if Siam is ever to be anything but a country in which the prevailing faith is Buddhism.

However, and so far, considering all the circumstances, the Presbyterians and the Catholics have accomplished much.

Across the frontier in Indo-China, which has a population of twenty million people, there are more than a million Catholics as against the sixty thousand in Siam's population of ten million. Father Louis Chorin, in charge of the Catholic missions in Siam, told me at Bangkok that perhaps the greater proportion of Christians in Indo-China was due to the fact that the missionaries and their converts in that country had been persecuted and had thrived because of it. In Siam there has been great tolerance. "The late King Rama," added Father Chorin, "opposed the Catholics for a short time when he first came to the throne sixteen years ago. He wrote articles denouncing the Holy Virgin and broadcast them over the country in his personal publication called *Wild Tigers*. But he soon tired

of that amusement and took to writing plays; and that is the only incident of hostility on the part of the Siamese toward Christians."

Not only are the Siamese tolerant but they have an eye for the fitness of things. Rev. Paul A. Eakin, of the Presbyterian Mission, told me of the humiliation which the educated Buddhists felt when a much needed temperance reform was started, not by themselves but by the missionaries. The attitude of the Siamese was that whereas Christ Himself had made wine, one of the Buddha's strictest commandments had been against any use of wine whatever. The upshot of it was that the temperance work started by the Presbyterians was practically turned over to a voluntary committee of Siamese organized for the purpose, and they have gone on with it to good effect with the support and backing of the missionaries.

So far as the idea of universal brotherhood is concerned, I found the best illustration of that in Esther. Esther is a Siamese woman eighty-three years old who has been a Christian sixty-seven years—a very real one. When she was a child she was taken to America by one of the early missionaries and lived for several years in a Christian family. Then she returned to Siam and was converted at the age of sixteen. Ever since then her recreation in life has been in teaching Christianity to all who would listen. For

more than fifty years her work was that of nurse to the babies of the Siamese royal family. As King Chulalongkorn had four hundred children and a proportionate number of grandchildren—great-grandchildren do not count as royal—Esther never lacked for work. They would like to have her at the palaces even now but she says she is too old.

I was taken by Mr. Eakin in a small boat up one of the many jungle-piercing streams which flow into the Meñam River and which take the place of roads in Siam, to call upon Esther in her hut of bamboo and thatch built over the water. At the mouth of the tributary was a native Christian church and settlement, but all the way upstream we rowed by little Buddhist wats, their gilded tops revealing themselves with startling brightness among the tangle of jungle vegetation as the boat swung around the bends in the stream. Also there were many boxes attached to the wild banana palms along the waterside containing idols and charms to which the boatmen and fishermen pray for good luck and relief from demons. But Esther was reading her Bible, having finished her day's housework.

The amazing thing to me was that this old woman said exactly the same things that I have heard from old women who have survived all their contemporaries and are living alone in American

towns and villages. She used the very same phrases. For example: "People say that it isn't right for me to be here all alone and that I ought to live with some family. But I can't do it. I don't want to do it. I am an old woman and am a little bit touchy. I like to do things in my own way and don't want to begin now to learn somebody else's way."

A little later she said that very few people got to see her, and so there were many things she wanted to know about but had nobody to tell her. "There are a lot of questions I want to ask you, but now you are here I cannot remember them," she said. "If I had known you were coming I would have written them down." Then, after a pause, she exclaimed, "Now it comes to me: What is all this I hear about the Sabbath day? Isn't our Sabbath the same one we read about in Genesis? I keep hearing about people going to church on some other day."

She also wanted to know if there were any new babies at any of the royal palaces and how people were behaving themselves down in Bangkok. Of course one octogenarian Siamese woman does not make a Christian nation, but Esther was such a fine old hostess that, in the mind of her caller, she seemed to justify the missionary movement of all Asia.

There was another incident suggesting that

queer, remote Siam has something in common with the rest of the world. It was in the very beautiful wat of the Emerald Buddha. Forty or fifty monks had just had a feast in the temple as the guests of the king. That is, the king had sent over the food, although he was not there himself. The meal was just about over when I got to the wat. A group of women were scurrying across the compound with the empty dishes, taking them back to the palace kitchen to be washed. It was like the aftermath of the annual bean supper in the vestry of any New England village church when the flustered members of the Ladies' Aid Society on the supper committee are cleaning up the muss.

It is in a million trifles that all the world is kin.

XIII

MISSIONARIES AND THE CHINESE WAR

AS intimated in the preface, it has become necessary to make this new preliminary note of recent developments to the three following chapters on China, which I wrote in that country when the Nationalist movement had already firmly established itself in South China, but before it had achieved its successes in the Yangtze valley and spread on to North China under the leadership of General Chiang Kai Shek.

But after a year of warfare there is no need to modify in the least the statements concerning two fundamental facts of the situation which were apparent from the beginning—first, that the Nationalist movement is not anti-Christian; second, that all Christian missionaries who are of much use to their cause and their religion are in full sympathy with that Nationalist movement, despite the trouble its war has brought them.

For the sake of an analogy from American history go back to our own Civil War in the United States. Imagine a group of Chinese tea merchants who had special privileges, won for them by their government and under which they

were able to run a tea monopoly in this country. Imagine also a group of Chinese missionaries allowed to come here to convert Americans to Confucianism if they could. Further, suppose that representatives of these two groups, with all their property and equipment for carrying on their commercial and religious enterprises, were located somewhere in Georgia, on the line between Atlanta and Savannah, in 1864. If they had persisted in remaining there when they knew that Sherman's army had started on its march to the sea, no doubt some of them would have got in the way of the advance and been hurt; their property would have caught fire as an incident of the general looting and destruction which marked the campaign. Perhaps one of the Confucian missionaries would have been killed. The missionaries, after reaching a place of safety, might have said: "Well, this is a war between the North and South of the United States. One of its objects, which we approve, is the abolition of slavery. We have been hurt, but we have no grievance. We will bide our time and continue our conversions to Confucianism later on."

The gentlemen of the tea monopoly might have said: "We must get our government to send more gunboats to Savannah harbour and bombard the city. We must demand a big indemnity for our destroyed tea. Best of all, one of those

sniveling, meddling, anti-slavery Confucian missionaries has been killed by an American soldier. On the strength of that we will get our government to demand more American territory in which we can carry on the tea monopoly."

Worth-while American missionaries are not whining about their plight and the temporary exile from their stations in China to-day because of the civil war in that country. On the contrary, they are showing the spirit of good sportsmanship in the crisis. They know that the war is for the Nationalist movement, in which they believe, and count their own discomfort and the interruption of their work as a sacrifice which they should and do make willingly. They certainly are not posing as martyrs. There would be no justification for that.

Of the eight thousand missionaries in China when the situation became acute only one has been killed, Dr. John E. Williams, of Nanking. Five hundred of the eight thousand, many of them in the interior, have not left their stations at all throughout the difficulties but have gone on in their work with the approval and sympathy of their Chinese communities. In no part of the country, outside of Hunan Province, has there been enough local hostility to force the missionaries out. In most cases the exodus has been due to the danger from irresponsible soldiers of

contending armies, to the ordinary chances of war, or to the urging of foreign consuls who did not want their nationals to get hurt and thus increase the danger of diplomatic complications.

About two thousand missionaries, one-quarter of the whole number, left the country altogether, taking home-leave in advance of their regular schedule. Practically all of them expect to return as a matter of course. The majority of the missionaries remained in Shanghai and other coast cities, in comfort and safety, many of them devoting their time to intensive study of the Chinese language, so that they might be better qualified for their work when they returned to it. Some returned as early as June, 1927. All expected to be back in their stations early in 1928.

The only wailing that was done was that of the British and American commercial groups. And they have had a most receptive and gullible reactionary press in England and the United States to broadcast their complaints for the purpose of creating the impression in those countries that war should be made upon China. All the atrocity propaganda stunts of the World War were trotted out. They had false first-page reports that the Chinese had cut off Dr. Williams' fingers to steal his rings, that American women had been raped. They clung as long as they could to the hope that not one but hundreds of

missionaries had been massacred, and they shed many columns of crocodile tears over these "fellow-nationals" whom they despise. No doubt they despised them more than ever for not being "among the slain" and thus furnishing an excuse for more gunboats, more troops and the seizure of more Chinese territory. As it was, they did their best to commercialize the unfortunate death of Dr. Williams. They hoped that that tragedy would turn out as profitably as did the killing of two German missionaries in the province of Shantung thirty years ago, when the German government took over the Shantung peninsula as compensation. But fortunately governments of Christian nations paid scant attention to the yelps and whines of their few but vociferous commercial nationals in Shanghai who clamoured for measures that would have meant war.

The missionaries were in no panic themselves, and denounced the pretended panic of the others. Very few of them were frightened into renouncing their formerly expressed sympathy for China and their belief that that country should receive just treatment from the Western nations in all treaty and other international dealings. As I have intimated several times in the course of this book, the missionaries, taken all in all, are by far the most creditable group of Americans and Europeans living and working in the East. The

fact has been further emphasized by their behaviour throughout the uncertainties and difficulties of the war in China.

This is by no means the first time that missionary work has been interrupted. After each previous disturbance the work has been resumed with greater vim and a more intelligent appreciation of the political and psychological problems to be solved. Already there is realization of the fact that this latest disturbance has had one greatly desired result. The Chinese Christians, left temporarily to themselves after the foreign missionaries had abandoned their stations, have been learning how to carry on their own church affairs. None of these native Christian units has ceased to function. The Chinese Christians have not been persecuted by their non-Christian fellow countrymen, except in a few localities in Hunan Province, and there have been few, if any, reversions from the Western faith on the part of the old converts. In other words a very definite and tangible result of the war-time situation has been a step toward the true goal of the whole missionary movement, a church in China free of foreign control. Furthermore, one of the guarantees for the future given by General Chiang Kai Shek and his associates in the Nationalist movement is that of complete religious freedom for all Chinese.

XIV

CHRISTIANITY OR GUNBOATS IN CHINA?

HYPHENATED Christianity is as unpopular in China to-day as hyphenated Americanism was in the United States in 1917. Such comparatively few of the four hundred million Chinese as are interested in this religion from the West at all do not want American-Christianity or British-Christianity or Christianity with any other Western label. They want just Christianity, without any foreign flags or gunboats or compulsory treaty clauses. They want it as it was founded seventeen hundred and seventy-six years before Betsy Ross sewed the stripes and stars on the first banner in her home in Arch street, Philadelphia; centuries before the Union Jack of Great Britain or the tricolour of France was designed or dreamed of.

At this moment the demand of the Chinese, growing out of their new spirit and programme of nationalism, is that Christian missionaries be willing to accept, and be allowed by their home governments to accept, the status of welcome guests voluntarily received instead of that of foreigners whose presence is forced upon China by

treaties which for the last eighty years she has signed under duress.

This, of course, is the Chinese point of view, but it is also becoming that of an increasing number of the missionaries themselves, both American and European. It is not the point of view of any considerable number of foreign government agents or foreign business people, resident in China, who believe that their facilities for making money in that country depend on the continuance of all the special geographical, political and economic concessions which China has been forced to yield. For the most part this commercial and political group of foreigners had looked upon China's desire for sovereignty and independence as a joke before the Nationalists began to win the country and they still look upon the missionaries from their own countries, who express sympathy for China, as pests and nuisances.

After talking with many missionaries from various countries and denominations in South and Central China I was convinced that if the matter had been left to them there would have been a safe majority vote in favour of China. But of course it was not left to them, and the Chinese are fighting for what the missionaries wanted to give them.

Three quarters of one per cent. of the Chinese population of four hundred million is now con-

verted to Christianity. There are, in round numbers, 2,200,000 Catholics and 800,000 Protestants. Of the Protestants only about half are classified as baptized communicants. Four hundred thousand of them are grouped as baptized non-communicants and as "others under Christian instruction." These totals represent the net results of evangelization (but not of medical and educational work) for three centuries of effort by the Catholics and about one hundred years by the Protestant missionaries. In the early Catholic work, however, there were at least two long periods of persecution in each of which the Christian movement became practically extinct because of the driving out of the priests and the reverting of their adherents.

Of the nearly four hundred million non-Christian Chinese the vast majority is not as yet at all interested in the religion of the missionaries. They are neither for it nor against it. Probably many millions of them have never heard of it. It is equally true that many millions of them knew nothing and cared less about the new Nationalism until a year ago, as the movement, at the outset, was confined to the educated minority under the leadership of students who had been trained abroad and in the Christian schools and colleges in China. The general mass of the people were in ignorance of these various agita-

tions and counter agitations. They simply knew that they were looted and pillaged and murdered by the rival armies of their own people, that frequently they were killed, when they got too near a massacre of students, by foreign police and soldiers from the Christian countries. They were used in the making up of vast mobs to give a show of force and numerical strength back of some movement the meaning of which they didn't know. But what the masses thought was not a political or religious factor, although it is now beginning to be such. They certainly are not to be counted as anti-Christian in any actively hostile sense or as the mass following of any organized movement.

I doubt if the number of Chinese who are consciously and deliberately anti-Christian equals the three millions of Catholic and Protestant converts. But whatever its size this hostile minority has produced a new and very acute problem for the Christian missionaries. The very religion which they came to China to propagate is under suspicion among both Christian and non-Christian Chinese.

There are really four anti-Christian groups in China. First, there are some of the Nationalists who are not against Christianity itself as a religion, but who are convinced that it has been used as an agency for the denationalizing of its

converts and as a subterfuge for the exploiting of their country. Second, there is the rationalist group growing rapidly in all the schools, which is opposing Christianity, and all other religions, on intellectual and scientific grounds. They have no political motive. A third group, greatly exaggerated as to numbers and importance, is the communistic following of Russian leaders. They, too, are against all religion because such opposition gives them a point of attack for political purposes. They are focussing their anti-religious propaganda against Christianity because it is the foreign religion, and to call the missionaries the "advance agents" and the "running hounds" of "imperialistic Europe and America" is a very simple and effective device for creating anti-foreign demonstration whenever needed.

The fourth and smallest but most sinister anti-Christian group in China is made up of the nominal Christians from Europe and America, the non-missionary contingent from the Western countries, who are in China for what they can get out of it rather than what they can do for it. For real hatred of Western missionaries it is necessary to go to Western commercial people in China, as in India. There are, of course, some exceptions. But not many.

They are an ungrateful lot. The very conditions by means of which they can make their easy

money and dominate large areas of Chinese territory were won for them by one-sided treaties which, in almost every case, had the safety of missionaries as their alleged purpose. To that extent at least the charge of the Chinese—Christian and non-Christian—that Christianity was used as an entering wedge for political and business domination is true. But the commercial beneficiaries despise the wedge and hold the missionaries responsible for the present uprising. They are particularly vituperative just now because the missionaries are the only Westerners in China who really want those treaties modified or annulled. (I mean, a good many of the missionaries want that, not all of them.) The cynicism of nominally Christian men and women in the United States who believe that the Church is an outgrown, useless institution is a very mild brand as compared with that of the nominal Christians who have emigrated to Asia.

Concerning the few exceptions to this general rule one thing is invariably true. When you do find a foreign business man or consul or diplomat who believes that the work of the missionary is worth while you will find that he is also in sympathy with the Chinese national aspirations for real sovereignty.

Of course, the three Chinese anti-Christian or anti-treaty-Christianity groups overlap more or

less, each one of them making what capital it can out of the grievances of the other two for the furtherance of its own cause. But they have nothing in common so far as ultimate purpose is concerned. Both Communists and Nationalists want to get rid of foreign control, but they have very different programmes for the use of their sovereignty when they obtain it.

The difference between the present anti-Christian movement and that of the Boxers twenty-five years ago is that the earlier uprising was one of physical violence only, with both leadership and following made up of illiterate fanatics. At the outset most of the killing was done by the Chinese. The anti-foreign and, incidentally, anti-foreign Christianity movement of to-day is in the hands of educated leaders with a following made up chiefly of students. Their chief method is not violence but propaganda, demonstration and education. Most of the recent killing of Chinese Christians has been done by the police of the Europeans.

As C. Y. Cheng, a leading Chinese Christian, puts it with mild cynicism: "There is a great difference between the attack of the Boxers and that of to-day. The former was due largely to ignorance of Christianity; the latter is based on some knowledge of it. The Boxer outbreak was led by the conservative and the ignorant;

the present attack by the educated and intelligent classes."

The violence which the Chinese themselves have been guilty of in the last two or three years, not excepting the rioting at Nanking, has had no more of a religious motive than the occasional massacres of whites and blacks in the race riots of Chicago and other cities of the United States. Foreigners and the Chinese pupils and members of Christian churches have suffered not because they were Christians but because they were foreigners and the native protégées of foreigners. More often than not, the attacks and atrocities have been committed by plain bandits and kidnappers who are shrewd enough to realize that if they prey upon foreigners the local and provincial Chinese authorities will not be so active in capturing and punishing them. This has been particularly true of South China, when dominated by the politicians of Canton with Russian advisors.

For example, there was a raid by kidnappers on a Christian school for Chinese boys located on the river bank opposite the city of Canton. The bandits tied their junk to the wharf near the school, and after the pupils had all gone to bed in their up-stairs dormitory the invaders entered the school building and shouted: "Fire!" Fifty boys, of grammar school age, rushed down-stairs

in their night clothes. They were immediately surrounded by the kidnappers, marched aboard the junk and taken off up the river to the retreat of the bandits and held for ransom. Only a few were ransomed, because most of the parents had no money. A few escaped and made their way back to Canton. Several of them are known to have died in captivity, and up to the time that the story was told to me in Canton sixteen were still unaccounted for. In that case the authorities did practically nothing.

There was a similar case in which the authorities did act, and the result was very different. This was the kidnapping of thirty Chinese students of Canton Christian College. They were going back to college, located up the river, in a launch after a student dinner in Canton, about thirty of them. It was dark when they embarked for the sail of not more than twenty minutes, and several bandits got aboard the launch at the same time, without their presence being noted particularly. But as the boat neared the college landing the interlopers drew their revolvers, ordered all hands up, and compelled the steersman and the man running the launch motor to go on upstream. The boys were landed many miles beyond the college and taken to the bandits' hiding place in the hills to await ransom. But no ransom was paid, and in a very short time every

student was rescued unharmed by the Canton police and troops, and the kidnappers were punished. In that case the offenders made the great mistake of not knowing that the American principal and faculty members of Canton Christian College were in sympathy with the Chinese and opposed to the continuance of existing treaties and, therefore, that their school could depend on official protection.

But bandits and kidnappers are no respecters of race, nationality or religion. It is stretching the matter too far to attribute their activity to any knowledge of or hostility to Christianity. The same was true of the rival provincial generals and governors who were devastating their own country in a tangle of guerrilla wars before the Nationalists began to dominate the military situation. These military leaders and their soldiers lived by looting the Chinese farms and villages. It was the only way they could get food and supplies which enabled them to keep up the fighting. The generals compelled the farmers to plant opium and they took the crop, as it was the most profitable commodity they could handle. The people submitted because they knew it was the only alternative to pillage.

Because of these wars there has been a tremendous increase, in the last two years, both in the raising and smoking of opium by the Chinese,

which adds to the difficulties and embarrassments of the missionaries, especially the missionaries hailing from England. The opium habit of the country is cited by the Chinese as one of the evils forced upon them by Christian people, both Dutch and British. Something over eighty years ago the British government insisted that the Chinese import opium from India for the benefit of English merchants and ship owners. The Chinese refused. They dumped several cargoes of the drug overboard, just as the Americans had thrown the tea into Boston harbour in the previous century. Then the British declared war, the notorious "Opium War," in which the Chinese were of course defeated. By the terms of the treaty of peace China had to pay England six million dollars for the value of the opium which the Chinese had destroyed to keep it out of their country; three millions more for English merchants whose trade had been injured, and twelve millions more to reimburse England for what the war had cost her. In addition to that China had to give Hong Kong to England outright for all time, and she was compelled to open five of her coast and river cities as treaty ports in which foreigners might have their own way. One clause of that treaty was that "forever after there should be peace between England and China." All of which may be ancient history,

but it is very relevant to the problem of the missionaries to-day.

We don't go far enough back for our point of departure in reading history to get a true understanding of the merits of the case in China to-day. The foreigners there claim that they have created everything in modern China which is worth while and that, therefore, the Chinese have no claims and no just grievance. The argument seems sufficient, not only for those who present it but for the uninformed who listen to it. For example, they say that Hong Kong is a modern, sanitary city of magnificent buildings constructed entirely by the English on what was a barren island before it was taken from the Chinese. That is true enough. But nothing is said about the two opium wars or the manner in which the British got the island. Suppose in the settlement of the war of 1812 between England and the United States a clause had been put into the treaty of Ghent giving Staten Island, in New York harbour, to the British for all time. Staten Island was barren enough then. Suppose, further, that England had made a crown colony of it and built a great city there. Would New Yorkers, and Americans generally, feel comfortable about it to-day and entirely satisfied with the assurance that the English had built that city at their own expense?

The tremendous increase of the opium habit resulting from that opium war ninety years ago explains very largely why missionaries have had little success in spreading among any considerable number of the Chinese population Western ideas and practices concerning health, cleanliness and sanitation. The recent increase in opium planting and consumption, to finance the war lords, has more than offset, so far as China is concerned, recent efforts of England and other Christian nations to check the opium traffic of the world through the intervention of the League of Nations and other international agencies. The laws prohibiting the sale of opium are as openly violated in the European concession areas of Chinese cities as the liquor prohibition law is violated in the cities of America. The graft and corruption of both Chinese and foreign police and customs officials facilitate the violations.

Politically the ancient history of the Opium War is also relevant to the present situation. Extremists among the Chinese Nationalists not only demand that the extraterritorial rights of the foreigners shall be done away with, that missionary toleration clauses be removed from the treaties, that the foreign concessions in the big seaports be surrendered, but also that Hong Kong shall cease to be a British crown colony and be restored to the Chinese.

That treaty by which Hong Kong was taken away was China's first real experience of the sort. Nothing was said in that agreement about missionaries. It gave them, automatically but without so specifying, the same rights that other foreigners had, to live in the five treaty ports and to carry on work for the Christian religion therein, but it gave them no rights to travel, reside or seek converts in the interior. The French government obtained those interior rights in 1844 by the first of what are known as the toleration clauses.

England waged a second war on China in 1856, fourteen years after the treaty of peace forevermore, and by the agreement that ended this second period of hostilities China again had to pay England's war expenses, open up six more ports to the foreigners and agree to "tolerate" England's Christianity.

As a result of these early agreements and various subsequent treaties there was a curious similarity between the political status of opium and that of Christianity in China. The Chinese were not compelled to smoke or eat opium, but they were compelled by treaty to admit it to their country. They were not compelled to become Christians, but they were obliged by treaty to admit Christianity.

More and more frequently the alleged solicitude for the cause of Christianity became the

cat's-paw by which one Christian country after another took an effective dig at Chinese territory or at China's right to control her own territory. More and more frequently the alleged necessity of protecting the lives and property of missionaries was used as an excuse to satisfy the conscience of the ordinary run of uninformed but Christian citizens of the foreign countries as to the merits of the treaties which were really for political and commercial purposes.

Finally the Golden Rule itself got into the treaties, bodily and literally. It was first in a treaty between China and the United States. Other countries saw that it was good, that it sounded well inserted into the jargon of diplomacy, that it brightened up a long string of clauses and articles concerning such minor matters as trade and territory, and so other countries modeled their treaties accordingly. This was 'way back in 1858. Article 29 of the American treaty negotiated that year said: "The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter, those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or

Chinese convert, who according to these tenets peaceably teaches and practices the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested."

The irony of the clause is not so much, perhaps, in the fact that it was an American treaty as in the fact that other countries grabbed the idea for their own use. America has not been guilty of taking any Chinese territory. In many ways she has been China's only political friend. Millions of American dollars have been spent in China for purely altruistic purposes. The record of the United States in Asia is cleaner than that of any other foreign country. Nevertheless, American nationals are the beneficiaries under the rights for foreigners which have been exacted by other nations. American gunboats have patrolled Chinese rivers along with those of Japan, England and European countries. American treaties compelled the admission of missionaries as well as the European treaties and, in her awakening spirit of nationalism, China resents any such implied slur upon her sovereignty, even from an otherwise friendly country. The United States Government later declared its readiness to set aside the old treaties, but performance was slow to catch up with promise.

For a long time Christianity was a rather valid excuse for getting something else, even with the

educated Chinese themselves. They had no hatred of the Christians. The missionaries for years went to China in absolute good faith and with the sincere desire to sacrifice themselves, if need be, for the moral and physical welfare of the Chinese. They carried medicine and education as well as religion, as they are doing now, and the Chinese were grateful. The difference between now and then is this. In the beginning neither the Chinese nor the missionaries realized that the latter were being used as an excuse for getting something very different from the privilege of preaching Christianity.

The Chinese had no modern education then. Now they have, and they are coming to new conclusions concerning old events. They are going back over the history of the last century to find arguments in support of what they hope to accomplish within the first half of this century. One of the facts to which they have just awakened is that Western countries never could or would have treated each other as they have treated her. For example, there was the case of two German missionaries killed in Shantung Province in 1897. The crime was committed by thieves. There was nothing political about it. But by way of indemnity Germany compelled China to cede to her for ninety-nine years the important port of Kiaochow in that province and

to give her absolute control of all the railroad and mining business in the entire peninsula of Shantung. The two dead men, so far as German commercial interests were concerned, were the two most profitable missionaries who ever went forth to preach the Gospel. Not having had any missionaries of their own killed at that time, Russia and England both demanded and obtained more Chinese ports for themselves simply because Germany had got one. Now, thirty years after the event, an awakened and better educated China is asking what would have happened if those two German missionaries had been killed by thieves in Florida, for example, instead of Shantung. Would Germany, in the name of the Christian religion, have taken Tampa or Miami for ninety-nine years and assumed sovereign control of the peninsula of Florida? Would she have?

China, as everybody knows, went through a long period of asking all the foreign nations concerned to revise or set aside these one-sided treaties and restore to China what she claimed as her own. Various international conferences were held concerning the matter, but they were not allowed to get anywhere. Now the Chinese have stopped asking and are demanding. A Chinese humorist assured me that any treaty based on the Golden Rule or calling for Christian prac-

tices and principles should be considered null and void automatically, and without any conference, on the ground that when one party to a treaty violates any clause of it the whole thing becomes invalid.

A fact not generally known is that Chinese Nationalists, as individuals and in organized groups, have appealed to Christian missionaries, also as individuals and as members of organized societies, to use their influence with their home governments and with the Christian churches in their several countries to bring about China's freedom. For the most part the Chinese Nationalists who are making this appeal are Christian converts who think that their turn has now come to ask for a political privilege in the name of religion.

All trace of the anti-Christian aspect in the movement for nationalism would disappear overnight if all the American and European missionaries in China would combine in a genuine effort to persuade their governments to let the Golden Rule work both ways internationally. No such combined, unanimous effort seems likely, at least not until the minority missionaries who are now opposed or lukewarm in their sympathy are convinced that they can be brave and bold without offending their fellow-nationals who are in China on commercial and political

missions. But that time is bound to come. There are some non-missionary foreigners who take it for granted that the ending of concessions and extraterritoriality will soon be a matter of course—much as they regret it.

The effectiveness of any individual missionary in spreading Christianity after normal conditions are restored or in retaining his personal reputation for sincerity will depend very largely on his response to the Chinese Christian's appeal for political help and sympathy.

The whole situation has been made more difficult and embarrassing for the Chinese Nationalists, and the missionaries who want to help them, partly by the disturbed condition of the country but even more by the cupidity and insincerity of many Chinese themselves, who derive personal advantage from the international situation which they publicly denounce. For example Wu Pei Fu, one of the generals who recently was devastating the country by civil war, based his appeal for support on the ground that he wanted to end foreign domination, but he had his house in the foreign concession at Hankow and kept his family there. Whenever the leader of a political faction in Peking has been overthrown or feared assassination by the agents of a rival he has rushed to the foreign quarter for safety. Military commanders and leaders of bandit

bands who were making fortunes out of loot and the enforced opium growing, sent their cash to the European banks in Shanghai and other treaty ports.

It was also true that honest villagers, in fear of a raid by troops or robbers, sometimes fled to the foreign treaty protection of the nearest missionary compound. On such incidents the advocates of keeping things as they were based their claim that the Chinese themselves did not want to change the treaties. The situation was somewhat similar to that of the American Revolution, when the Tories fled to Canada or lived in comfort in Philadelphia while that city was in the possession of the British. On the strength of that the English declared that the worth-while Americans did not really want independence.

Chinese Nationalists themselves classify the missionaries in three groups. First, there are those who refuse to express any opinion in the matter at all. Their attitude is that missionaries should not "meddle in politics." The Chinese retort to that is that neither should missionaries be willing to be the beneficiaries of politics which are unfair to the country in which they are trying to make converts to Christianity. The second group, according to the Chinese classification, is made up of missionaries who say privately they are sympathetic but who will not

say so loud enough and officially enough for their home churches and governments to hear them. Their effectiveness in spreading the Christian Gospel, even before the present enforced interruption of missionary work, was at a low ebb among Chinese who are not opposed to that Gospel but who think that nationalism is just as necessary to their country's welfare, and that it must come first in their thought and activity until it is won.

The third group, obviously, includes the large number who sincerely sympathize with China, are not afraid to say so and who see nothing in such action that is inconsistent with their calling as missionaries. They are the people, for example, who would be described by Mr. Edwin S. Cunningham, the American Consul General in Shanghai, as unsound in their mental processes and as Americans who should stay at home. Dean Throop of Saint John's Episcopal College, at Shanghai, in telling me of the shooting of unarmed Chinese students by the British police in Shanghai, said that it was regrettable but the only thing to do under the circumstances. When I repeated that to Consul General Cunningham he exclaimed: "I do not know Dean Throop, but he is a sound man. The only legitimate business of the missionary is to preach the Gospel, heal the sick and comfort the afflicted, and he should

not express any public opinions about anything else."

However, many missionaries, as individuals or as members of their respective societies, had expressed opinions, positive or negative, concerning the crisis before the Nationalists had won the Yangtze valley, and most of these were sent to the National Christian Council in Shanghai, which acts as a clearing house in such matters for all the Protestant missionary organizations in China. So many of them expressed active sympathy for the Chinese in their political aspirations, and so many of them declared themselves ready to surrender their special treaty privileges, that they confirmed the impression which I had received from many personal interviews at missionary stations to the effect that a majority of these Christian workers want the country to receive Christian treatment.

Of these many statements I quote two to show the opposite points of view. Here is one which does not please Christian Chinese Nationalists. It was the reply for the American Episcopalians in Shanghai made by the secretary of their Council in response to the request of the National Christian Council for an opinion on revision of the treaties. The secretary wrote: "I am authorized to reply for our Council saying, that in view of the great confusion of the issues involved the

Council of Advice does not desire to commit this Mission to any official action and that we do not feel that any united pronouncement, through the National Christian Council, on this matter is desirable."

The American Baptists passed resolutions much more to the liking of Chinese Christians. They said: "We wish it to be understood that when our respective governments negotiate the new treaties that are so urgently needed, we do not desire that any distinctive privileges for missions and missionaries be imposed by treaty upon the Chinese people and government. We express ourselves in favour of the abolition of the present privileges."

Missionaries of the Methodist Church South and many other groups expressed the same opinion. Dr. R. E. Diffendorfer, Secretary of the Foreign Mission Board of the Methodist Church North, wrote out from America that missionaries who felt they could not live in China without special protection ought to return to America.

Twenty-eight American missionaries sent a statement to the United States Minister in Peking in which they said they were in China as messengers of brotherhood and peace and "therefore we express our earnest desire that no form of military pressure, especially no foreign mili-

tary force, be exerted to protect us or our property; and that in the event of our capture by lawless persons or our death at their hands, no money be paid for our release, no punitive expedition be sent out, and no indemnity be exacted. This is in accordance with what we understand the example of Jesus Christ to mean."

An English missionary clergyman told me that in the course of a recent sermon he had told his Chinese congregation that they should "put aside patriotism." I asked him what the reaction of his listeners had been.

"I realized instantly," he replied, "that I had completely lost their sympathy. I could feel a chill come over the whole service."

"Isn't that exactly what would happen in an English or European or American congregation if the preacher gave the same advice at a time of national crisis? Wouldn't such a preacher be put in jail as a pacifist?" I asked the missionary.

"I wonder if Christianity is a failure?" was his only response.

XV

CHINA'S BAN ON REQUIRED RELIGIOUS TEACHING

FIFTEEN years ago, at the beginning of their experiment as a republic, the Chinese cut off their queues because they considered them a badge of the old servitude under the foreign domination of the Manchu dynasty, which then had ruled and misruled them for nearly three centuries. A few radical leaders of the present Nationalist movement in China believe that now it would be well to cut out Christianity for very much the same reason, that it is a symbol of their country's domination by the foreigners from the Christian nations of the West.

The only alternative, in their opinion, is for Christianity to free itself of such symbolism and suspicion by coming out from the shelter of special privileges provided for in the various humiliating treaties which China has been compelled to sign in the course of the last ninety years, thereby impairing her sovereignty and losing large areas of her territory.

Dr. Wellington Koo, formerly Chinese Min-

ister in the United States and afterward in England, told me in Shanghai in 1926 that Christian missionaries who felt that they needed the enforced religious toleration clauses of these treaties and the protection of foreign gunboats did not show sufficient faith in the brotherhood of man, as taught by their own religion, to be convincing apostles of that religion in China. Dr. Koo is not a Christian convert himself but a Confucianist. "The only missionaries who can really advance the cause of Christianity in this country," he added, "are those who are willing to show faith and trust in the people whom they wish to convert. If there are any who lack that faith, they can best serve their religion here by returning to their homes in Europe and America.

"I know that many missionaries are in sympathy with us in our international disadvantages, but they might do more to support China in her fight to have extraterritoriality abolished. Those who have succeeded spiritually as missionaries have never needed it. Those who have needed it or thought they did are poor missionaries. Their work requires, first of all, an intimate friendly sympathy. They have nothing to fear from the Chinese. Their difficulty is that they do fear the pressure and the ridicule of their commercial fellow countrymen. But, if they will only see it, the missionaries now have the greatest oppor-

tunity they have ever had in China to win to their religion men and women of intelligence and education. Until a few years ago the missionaries reached only the illiterate. Their converts were what we call 'rice Christians,' that is, people who declared themselves converted in the hope that they would gain some material advantage, something as simple as a little more food. But in the last decade, thanks to the splendid schools and the medical work they have established here, and also to the higher intellectual quality of their preaching and propaganda, the missionaries have attracted the favourable attention of educated Chinese and have made some sincere converts from that group. But these educated people are the Chinese who are working for the abolishing of the unfair treaties and for the reinstatement of their country as a fully sovereign state. Let the missionaries help them in the new patriotism, and the benefits to the cause of the new religion will be great. They would win the gratitude of all our people, which would be a most useful first step toward winning us to their faith. Also they would help restore tranquillity to this country which would enable more people to turn their attention to things that are spiritual. That tranquillity is bound to come soon with or without the help of the missionaries and their home governments. As bad as the situation must seem

to outsiders, our domestic difficulties are superficial. China is sound fundamentally. But she could cure her internal disorders more quickly if she were not harassed by the continuance of unfair treatment by Christian countries. That is the underlying cause of all our troubles and resentments. The anti-Christian feeling is only a small wheel within the larger wheel of the anti-foreign feeling due to the treaties. The anti-Christian phase would vanish if the missionary representatives of Christianity would help us. China is normally tolerant of all religions."

As already stated in the preceding chapter, there are many missionaries who fully measure up to the standard indicated by the foregoing statement of the Chinese diplomat. They have expressed their sympathy privately and publicly, as individuals and as members of denominational missionary societies. They have asked their American government to do its share in the abolishing of the treaties. They have assured their diplomatic representative that missionary work backed up by military and political force is tainted, and not consistent with the teaching of Jesus Christ, as they understand that teaching. There are some missionaries in China, a minority, who apparently interpret the teaching of the Founder of their religion differently. At any rate, they have refused to repudiate the gunboats

and compulsory special privileges as essentials to their evangelistic work.

But while the Christian missionaries were persuading and resolving, and the Christian governments were conferring and adjourning without action, the Chinese made a discovery of something they could do to control their own affairs without having to pay somebody an indemnity and without having to get the consent of Tokio or Washington, London or Paris. It was in the matter of the Christian schools and colleges and all other educational institutions maintained in China by foreigners.

The National Ministry of Education at Peking formulated and put into effect a new set of conditions with which all such schools must comply before they could be registered as having government recognition. Similar regulations have since been adopted by the Nationalist Government. The schools affected, as described by the first clause of the Peking rules, are "all institutions of whatever grade established by funds contributed by foreigners." The second rule is that each school must prefix to its official title the term "*szu lih*" meaning that it is privately established. The vitally important conditions which have raised a brand new issue for the missionaries with reference to their attitude toward Chinese nationalism are:

“The president or principal of such a school should be a Chinese. If such president or principal already in office is a foreigner, then there must be a Chinese vice-president who shall represent the institution in applying for government recognition.

“If the institution has a board of managers, more than half of the board must be Chinese.

“The institution shall not have as its purpose the propagation of religion.

“The curriculum of such an institution should conform to the standards set by the Ministry of Education. It shall not include religious courses among the required subjects.”

No school is compelled by law to comply with these conditions, but the likelihood is that every school will be compelled by circumstances to do so or else find itself eventually without any students. It need not comply if it decides to get along without registering for government recognition. But the graduates of all such schools which are not registered are not eligible to the franchise as citizens which they would otherwise have because of intellectual qualifications. They are not eligible for government jobs or public office. They are barred from government scholarships for continuing their education abroad. If they are graduates of unregistered middle or high schools, they cannot be received

as students in colleges, universities or technical schools which are registered.

Inasmuch as education in China, under Christian auspices, has become in recent years fully as important as evangelization, if not more important, the new regulations are of vital concern to the whole missionary movement and to the religious and educational groups and institutions in the United States which are financing it. They apply to schools of primary and grammar grades in which 260,000 Chinese children were under instruction by the Catholics and 225,000 were being taught by Protestant Christians before the 1927 temporary suspension of missionary activities began. In colleges and high schools affected there were twenty thousand students in Protestant institutions and six thousand in the Catholic colleges and upper schools. The Protestant mission schools of the low grades numbered 7,382, and, throughout China there were seventeen important Protestant colleges and eleven professional schools, all of which expected to resume operations before the end of 1928.

The response which each separate educational institution will make to the new demands of the Chinese government must be determined by itself or by the denominational interests back of it. Technically and officially there can be no uniform, joint action one way or the other, but

many of the Chinese and American Christian leaders in school work, both within and without the membership of the China Christian Educational Association, are of the opinion that all the schools should make the best of the matter and conform to the regulations. These leaders are by no means hopeless concerning the religious situation, and they do not resent the determination of the Chinese to control the education of their own people.

So far as the rule which forbids "required" religious instruction is concerned, the new problem is much less acute for the Catholics than for the Protestants, because of a difference between the educational policies of the two branches of the Christian workers. It is the general rule, with exceptions of course, of the Catholic missionary educators throughout Asia to maintain their schools primarily for boys and girls already of the Catholic faith, that is, for the children from converted families. They do not rely upon their schools, to any great extent, as agencies for the conversion of students who are admitted as non-Christians. Therefore, under the new system, the Catholic school administrators will have little difficulty in getting all their pupils to accept religious instruction as a voluntary elective.

With Protestant schools, in China as elsewhere throughout Asia, the policy concerning the re-

ligious faith of pupils upon entrance is almost the reverse. As I have stated in a previous chapter, the majority of the students in the Protestant Christian colleges in India are non-Christian, and remain so after their graduation. But the Christian schools in large areas of India must have the provision of the Conscience Clause to qualify such institutions for government financial aid. This enables a student to reject religious instruction if he so desires.

So, in future, the registered schools in China will have only the same handicap in the matter of non-required religious courses which the Indian schools have always had. The willingness of the Protestants to educate under Christian conditions without requiring that their faith be adopted, or even that their formal, specific religious teaching be received, is an important factor in the process which is called "Christianizing without conversion."

In the Protestant colleges of China where, up to the time of their enforced but temporary closing, compulsory religious courses were permitted and imposed, the percentage of converted Christians in the student body has been considerably greater than in India. According to the statistics of the seventeen such colleges collected by the China Christian Educational Association for 1926, the percentage of all the students enrolled

who were Christians was sixty-four. This showed a nominal increase of two per cent. over the preceding year despite all the student strikes and demonstrations and shooting of students by foreign police which had occurred in the meantime. The increase for the same period in the number of Chinese students who were actual church members as well as "professing Christians" was seven per cent.

One other comparison between China and another country with reference to religion and education is pertinent. The new rules of the Chinese Government still leave the Christian educators much more liberty than they would have in the public schools of the United States, where religious instruction may not only not be required but may not be given at all. So there is no more justification in calling the Chinese school authorities anti-Christian because of these new regulations than there would be in making the same charge against the Board of Education in any one of the American states. There will be a very close similarity between any one of the Christian colleges in China under the new conditions and any one of the many privately endowed colleges or universities in the United States in which chapel attendance is optional and Bible instruction elective.

The new rules seem more drastic than they

really are. That is because the schools in China were all started very recently and as an integral, vital part of a religious movement, rather than as an enterprise in secular education; because they are so closely associated with the idea conveyed by the word "missionary." It was done so recently that there has been no fading out of the original idea. But so were all the older colleges of America founded for strictly religious purposes. It was so long ago, however, that the fact has been forgotten, and now a student may spend four years in almost any one of them without ever hearing a word about religion unless he wants to. Nevertheless, they are all still rated as Christian institutions of learning.

The several leaders of Christian education in China with whom I talked or whose reports on the matter I read did not consider the regulations as hostile to Christianity. The Board of Education, which unanimously adopted the regulations after long debate and after hearing many Christians and anti-Christians, included in its membership two very devout Chinese Christians.

One important factor in the situation was that the ministry was under great political pressure from the Nationalists, who insisted that China should have the right to exercise some control over every part of its educational system. Na-

tionalists who were anti-Christian declared that the foreign schools were being used to denationalize the young people of the country, and Christian Nationalists admitted that there was danger that they might be managed in such a way that they would have that effect.

Among the various documents which the Government Board of Education considered in its deliberations was the catalogue of one of the missionary colleges in China. In the course of its introduction setting forth the educational aims of the college the catalogue contained this statement: "The Government of China is hopelessly weak and corrupt. The people of China are pitifully poor and ignorant. This is because there are very few Chinese men or women sufficiently capable and conscientious to effect constructive reforms."

That statement, in the official prospectus of a Christian institution located in China, is worthy of being placed in the group of exhibits of missionary lack of tact, on the same shelf with Bishop Heber's hymn of a century ago concerning Ceylon, "where every prospect pleases and only man is vile."

However, the catalogue, always open to the offending words and with the passage heavily inked in the margin with the Chinese characters which mean "take notice," was never missing

from the conference table of the Ministry of Education. If any member wavered as to the necessity for China to supervise the education of its own people, the catalogue would be shoved in front of him, or somebody would read aloud again that the Government was hopelessly weak and corrupt. This college prospectus was the most convincing argument offered in support of the new regulation that more than half of the members of a foreign school's board of management must be Chinese.

The regulations do not cover Christian schools only but all foreign schools, and there is no more discrimination against the teaching of Christianity as a required subject than there is against the teaching of Confucianism in the native schools. At the founding of the Chinese republic in 1911 there was an effort made to have Confucianism adopted as the official state religion under the new régime, with specific authority for such adoption in the constitution and with the compulsory teaching of that ancient Chinese religion in all the Government schools. The effort was defeated, but the fight to have such a state religion and such teaching in the schools has gone on ever since. There is the same feeling in the matter as there is in the United States between those who think Christianity should be taught in the public schools and that "God

should be in the American Constitution," and those who do not think so. So on that score the Chinese Government has been as fair to Christianity as to the traditional and ancient faith of the country.

Another factor was that Japan had demanded the right to establish Buddhist schools in China.

Dr. Ting-Fang Lew, President of the China Christian Educational Association and Dean of Theology at the Yenching Christian University in Peking, heartily sympathizes with the Government Ministry of Education and appreciates the difficulties which they had to meet in the situation. So do E. W. Wallace, Associate General Secretary of the Educational Association, and many other leaders. It is significant that the chief opposition to the new rules comes not from Christians but from the Anti-Christian Association in Peking, which is endeavouring to work up a nation-wide protest against the regulations on the ground that they are too partial to missionary schools and that they make registration and government recognition too easy for foreign institutions.

Christian educators, even those who do not resent what the Government has done, have not yet determined on what is the best course to take. Their attitude is, obviously, that they must pay any penalty and accept any sacrifice, even that of

keeping their schools closed, from lack of pupils, rather than comply with the conditions if such compliance means the destruction of the Christianizing influence of their education.

“If compulsory religious education is the best way to win students to Christ,” says President Ting-Fang Lew, “we shall not give it up under any circumstances. But if, in the spirit of Christ Himself and in the light of the soundest principles of pedagogy, such compulsory education is not the best way, we should abandon it regardless of government regulations.”

According to the statistics a little more than one-third of all the students in the Protestant Christian colleges have failed to become Christians under a system of compulsory religious instruction.

As Dr. Wallace puts it, it is not nearly so important that all students be required to study the Bible as it is that all students shall want to study the Bible and elect it voluntarily. The whole problem comes down to that.

Within the first six months after the promulgation of the new regulations very few schools had decided what action to take. One of these few was St. Paul's School at Anking, which complied with the conditions and reported them satisfactory. Of the one hundred and thirty students all but six voluntarily continued their

religious instruction courses. J. K. Shryock, the principal of St. Paul's, said: "The religious life of the school had never before been so good and on such a sound basis."

Canton Christian College made all its religious work optional six months before the Ministry of Education issued its decree. This action was a part of the sequel to the shooting of students and other Chinese by the French and the British in the foreign concession at Canton on June 23, 1925, one of the memorable dates in the history of Christian education in China. The students and others were having a parade as an anti-foreign demonstration because of the shooting of the students by British police in Shanghai three weeks before. It was a complicated affair with many factors involved—Russian influence, student resentment, hatred between foreigners and Chinese and the non-missionary Christian foreigners' hatred of the missionaries. Argument will go on until the end of time as to which side fired the first shot. But one vital fact concerning which there is no dispute is this—fifty-two Chinese were killed and one hundred and seventeen were wounded. One man was killed and eight were wounded among the foreigners. That is about the usual proportion of casualties on each side when one of these conflicts occur between foreign police and Chinese students. The French

and British had their machine guns in readiness before the parade, and they had fortified their island concession, separated from the city's waterfront street by a very narrow canal, with the usual barricades of sand bags and barbed wire entanglements. All of the shooting was done across the narrow strip of water. None of the paraders who were marching along the waterfront when the shooting began attempted to get over to the island of the foreigners.

The English declare that the Chinese had machine guns in the windows of the buildings along the city side of the canal, that the attack was begun by them and that it was instigated by Russians. There was one member of the foreign colony who had been on a spree for a week. He was in evidence on the day of the shooting, and two days afterward he committed suicide. The Chinese and their missionary sympathizers wonder if he possibly could have started the trouble by firing the first shot and then killed himself after learning how much slaughter there had been.

Among the fifty-two killed on the Canton side were one Chinese professor on the faculty of Canton Christian College and several students.

Seventeen American members of the Christian College Faculty passed resolutions denouncing the British and French for the massacre. The

Americans of the commercial colony in Hong Kong passed resolutions denouncing the American professors for denouncing the French and British. And the controversy is still on. One result was that the American missionary teachers in Canton Christian College were very violently hated and despised by nearly all the non-missionary Americans and Europeans in both Canton and Hong Kong. There are also some missionaries who resent the action of the Canton faculty.

As the result of a very involved and complicated situation and misunderstanding it was thought better for the college and for himself that the vice-principal, who was an Englishman, should go away for a while. His presence was supposed not to allay the excitement and anger of the students. So he went to England on leave. He had been head of the department of religious instruction, and the course up to that time had been compulsory. Dr. James M. Henry, President of the College, soon thereafter made religion an optional course, thereby anticipating the decree of the Chinese Ministry of Education and also arousing the resentment of some of the absent vice-principal's missionary associates, who felt that the American head of the college had taken advantage of the Englishman's absence.

President Henry assured me that the step had been under contemplation for a long time and was something that was bound to come. He also said that his college and all other Christian colleges in the country should be under Chinese control, and that he would be glad to serve under a Chinese president. Furthermore, he told me that Canton Christian College, which was under the educational supervision of the New York Board of Regents, had applied to that body to change its name from Canton Christian College to Lingnan University, a term meaning "south of the ridge," that is in southern China. So there at least was one college which was apparently willing to go the whole way in deforeignizing itself. It had 250 students in the college proper and about 900 all told in the affiliated lower schools and the college. Two-thirds of them were Christian, although ninety per cent. of them came from non-Christian homes.

After this not altogether irrelevant digression to the troubles of Canton there is a little more to say about the new Government rules for the registration and recognition of foreign schools. The rule against required religious instruction is simple and direct, and there is no doubt that the only alternative is to make the study of religion so attractive that students will take it voluntarily.

But the fifth rule is more perplexing to the

Christian educators. It says that the school shall not have as its purpose the propagation of religion. The Chinese will be asked for a favourable and liberal interpretation of that. In the meantime the policy of the schools when they are reopened must be that they exist solely to educate for the sake of education, but that education includes the development of character and that among the best agencies for such development are the principles and examples to be found in the books of Christianity. That is a point which probably will provide controversy for years to come between the Christians in China and the organized anti-religious rationalists.

The suggestions in the matter made by the Committee on Christian Education at the conference held in China by John R. Mott soon after the promulgation of the rules included the following: "The terms of recognition can be accepted as they stand. This would involve making all courses in religion elective. Such action would remove what is probably the most serious cause of criticism of our schools from without and of unrest within, namely, that they are under foreign control and not amenable to the government educational authorities. A school may feel unable to accept these conditions and make no move to apply for recognition. This would leave the school free, at least for the present, to make

any requirements it pleased in the curriculum. The cause of criticism and unrest would remain, and the government authorities might question the sincerity of our often expressed desire for recognition."

A third suggestion of the committee was that the terms might be accepted, such action being supplemented by an attempt to get them modified.

I heard no criticism of the provisions that the executives of the schools, and more than half of their board memberships, shall be Chinese. That is considered as fair and as an important step toward the end for which progressive missionaries are working; the time when they may withdraw, leaving the whole Christian movement in China to the Chinese, the time when the long dreamed of indigenous church will be an accomplished fact.

XVI

CHINESE FIGHT FOR THE INDIGENOUS CHURCH

IF it has taken the Catholic and Protestant missionaries three hundred years to convert something less than one per cent. of the Chinese population to Christianity, how long will it require to make China an altogether Christian country? Something over thirty thousand years.

That question and answer, particularly the answer, are, of course, absurd and fantastic so far as being prophetic or even mathematical is concerned. But something fantastic is required to indicate the magnitude, if not the hopelessness of the undertaking as it appears to a layman who is not at all unsympathetic toward the missionaries. Such a problem in simple arithmetic, with its correct product according to the multiplication table, may be useful as a sort of symbol of despair, but it is absurd for various reasons. In the first place, it leaves out of account the fact that the situation is different to-day from what it was at the beginning of the three centuries already elapsed. Facilities and conditions seem much better now than then on paper, the paper on which missionary reports and international

treaties are written. In the old time a Chinese emperor might receive missionaries with open arms and give them the run of his land on one day and the next day throw them into dungeons or cut off their heads, together with the heads of all the Chinese whom they had converted. But it is a fair question whether the shifting whims of the ancient emperors made a greater obstacle to Christianity as a spiritual force than does the present resentment and hostility of the Chinese people to Christianity because they look upon it as an adjunct of commercial, political and military force directed against themselves. Perhaps the answer, thirty thousand, is too small.

The example in arithmetic is also absurd because the solution implies the mad assumption that three hundred centuries hence the world is going to be something like what it is to-day. The oldest religion now in existence, Hinduism, is less than forty centuries old. The oldest people in the world to-day are the Chinese, and they are only fifty centuries old, counting their legendary beginnings as well as the historical periods before and since Confucius. And the Chinese break all records of world history for longevity of any given civilization. It seems almost as reasonable to suppose that America and Europe will eventually become Confucian as that China will become Christian.

With all the present speculation concerning the "rising tides of colour" and the "coming clashes of colour," it may not be too wild to assume that for some comparatively brief period within the next thirty thousand years we may all become Shintoists for very much the same reason that all the people of Ceylon became Catholic when the Portuguese captured their island and later became Protestant when the Dutch ousted the Portuguese.

But coming down to a reasonable stretch of time, into the future which admits of real guesses as to probabilities, what is the outlook for Christianity in China in another three centuries, or in one? Will it add only another one per cent. of the four hundred millions of Chinese, or will it make a real showing? This question is based on the safe assumption that China will eventually attain government and peace and that the missionaries will return.

According to the blend of many opinions which the writer has obtained from American and European missionaries in China, from Chinese Christians and from Chinese who are not Christians, the answer depends chiefly on two things. First, the methods of the last century must be done away with, ignored and forgotten; or remembered only long enough to be corrected. That, no doubt, is a heart-breaking thing for the

well meaning and devout survivors of the old missionary school and for many sincere contributors to the cause in home churches, but it must be done, in the opinion of the liberal and progressive missionaries who are winning the new leadership.

This applies chiefly to the Protestants. Catholics are not so much concerned, and they have much more reason to be satisfied with their old methods so far as results are measured by the number of converts. The fact that there are more than twice as many Catholics as Protestants is not entirely explained by the longer period of effort by the missionaries from Rome because twice they were obliged to begin all over again after early persecutions by the emperors which practically eliminated the faith and its adherents. The chief reason for their present numerical strength is that they have confined their efforts almost entirely to evangelization among poor people of the country. While they have some splendid schools and hospitals, these are few as compared with the Protestant institutions of the sort. They have attracted far less adverse criticism from the Chinese simply because they have put most of their emphasis on the religion rather than on the varied humane but secular activities incidental to religion. In other words, they have done less of what is known as organized social and

physical welfare work and have thereby escaped being conspicuous targets. Justly or unjustly, when the Chinese find fault with Christian workers they mean Protestants nine times out of ten.

Another comparison between the two branches of the faith that the Chinese make is to the effect that the Catholics make greater personal sacrifices. They have no such system of home leave as that whereby the Protestant workers are allowed to have periodical years or half-years of freedom among their own people in America and Europe. When a Catholic priest or brother or nun goes to China or any other country in the foreign mission field it is for life, with no hope or expectation of ever returning. Also, as in the Christian countries, the Catholics live more in accordance with the standards and customs of the people whose spiritual leaders they try to be.

In the matter of famine relief Catholics and Protestants work together like enthusiastic brothers, and they are beginning to coöperate in the fight against opium. But outside of those two fields they have nothing to do with each other. On the other hand, they do not interfere with each other. There is no rivalry within a given area; no effort is made to convert a Catholic to Protestantism or a Protestant to Catholicism. With three hundred and ninety-eight million

ancestor worshippers to draw upon, there is no need for the two Christian groups to take adherents away from each other.

It is interesting to speculate on what might have happened if the third major group of Christians, the Greek Church of Russia, had seen fit to send missionaries into the Chinese field any time within the last two or three years. If the present Russian leaders had not thrown religion, together with everything else of the old régime, into the discard, they could have made a powerful bid against the Protestant and Roman Churches for Chinese converts, simply because Russia is the one country which has voluntarily waived her exterritoriality rights and other treaty privileges, the continuance of which by other countries constitutes such a handicap for the missionaries. After making due allowance for the sensational exaggeration of the Moscow influence, it is a reasonable and conservative estimate that Russians have converted as many Chinese to communism in three years as the number converted to Christianity in as many centuries by Protestant and Catholic missionaries. Together with their gesture of political fairness and sympathetic recognition of China's new national patriotism, they probably could have made as many adherents to the Greek Church. As it is, they simply have made the task of conversion more dif-

ficult for the missionaries of the other two faiths, for communism is one of the important factors in the whole anti-Christian movement.

With the educated Chinese the Protestants are in the lead, and that is the field in which the great work must be done if China is ever going to be Christian on her own account instead of merely one per cent. Christian in a state of tutelage.

The record of the past, just referred to as something that must be changed, concerns of course such matters as religious toleration clauses, extritoriality and other special privileges provided for in the one-sided treaties which China and the effective missionaries themselves want annulled.

The second great essential to future progress of Christianity is the indigenous church of and for China. That, to-day, is the great aim of the Chinese Christians and the foreign missionaries. There is some time wasted over hair-splitting as to just what the word indigenous means. The splitters say that there can be no such thing, because an institution to be indigenous to a country must have had its origin in that country. The religion of Mohammed is now the prevailing faith of the only country in which Christianity was ever indigenous in that narrow literal sense. But what the Chinese mean is that they want a church that is not foreign. The ultimate goal is Chris-

tianity in China without any foreign missionaries whatever. The intelligent missionaries themselves share that hope and have that aim. But some of them are very indirect about it and slow in coming to the point. Their temporary exile from the country because of the war may help in this respect. It leaves to Chinese Christians the management of their own churches.

The last great conference of Chinese and foreign Christians at Shanghai considered the indigenous church among other matters. Francis Wei was chairman of the committee on that topic and wrote the findings of the conference. He described the sort of religion desired as "a form of Christianity which may be expected to develop in the Chinese church when the excessive pressure of foreign theology and administrative control is removed and a consequent greater initiative of thought and activity result under the stimulating power of the Holy Spirit; a form also which both in the realm of religious faith and in that of order will undoubtedly reveal and bring to fruition in Christ those distinctive spiritual values, for example, ethical ideals, principles of polity, qualities of character, reverent responses to beauty and truth, which have in the past been indigenous to the Chinese race."

No sooner had Dr. Wei read his report than two foreign missionaries objected to the phrase

“excessive pressure of foreign theology and administrative control.” They wanted it softened and made platitudinously complimentary to the foreigners. But the language of the Chinese was allowed to stand, and the matter was trivial except as a die-hard characteristic effort at foreign domination of a conference that was trying to do away with foreign domination.

The two chief obstacles to Christianity in China have always been the adjective “foreign” and the contempt of the missionaries, with one classic exception, for what the Chinese themselves had in the way of religion and a philosophy of life. The foreign handicap has not always come from the Christian countries. It was just as effective in the periods of invasion and conquest by non-Christian foreign tribes from the North when the conquering rulers had their periodical intervals of being hospitable to missionaries. The fact that they were the protégées of the foreign emperors caused them to be hated by the people.

The exception to the general rule of contempt for native religion, and insistence that it be abandoned altogether as a pagan thing, was furnished by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. They found a way to reconcile Christianity with the Chinese veneration of ancestors, and made many converts before the Franciscan and Domin-

icans interfered and appealed to the pope for a decree against the Jesuit methods. The decree was forthcoming, and the order from Rome to the effect that all Chinese Christians must forget their ancestors so angered the emperor that he drove out all the missionaries. It is likely that if the Jesuits and their converts had been left alone there would be many more than two million Catholics in China to-day.

The indigenous church is the only solution of the double problem. If the leaders of the entire Christian movement were all Chinese, the taunts of the anti-Christian leaders that it is a foreign religion would automatically lose their effect on the converts and prospective converts. The indigenous church would also find a way for somehow linking up the first two words of the Lord's prayer with the Chinese attitude toward his ancestors and the resulting filial piety which has been the basis of Chinese morality for many centuries. At least the Chinese Christians themselves are sure they would find such a way, and the sympathetic foreign missionaries are beginning to take them seriously on that point.

There is already in existence a standing committee of the missionary bodies, both Chinese and foreign, on this matter of the indigenous church, and in its official statement of what it considers its tasks to be is included the following: "To dis-

cover what are the elements of permanent value in Chinese civilization; for example, the Chinese conception of family life in its relation to Jesus' use of the word 'Father' as the Christian term for parents, and the preservation of what is best in it without losing the Christian emphasis on the value of the individual and his personal rights; Chinese love of peace which needs to be completed by the Christian love of truth; the strengthening in the Christian Church of those aspects of Christian life emphasized in the Sermon on the Mount and which seem more congenial to Chinese life and thought than to the life and thought of the West."

The committee also acknowledges as an essential part of its task a sympathetic study of Confucianism and Chinese Buddhism as well as a keeping track of the various anti-Christian movements.

Such a programme on the part of the missionaries from Europe and America implies a long step in advance of what the situation was even five years ago.

In a very relevant contribution to the general discussion Bishop L. H. Roots, of Hankow, cites the advice given by the Bishop of Rome to St. Augustine, the missionary to England in the sixth century when that country was trying to solve the same problem that China now has.

England wanted to substitute for foreign domination an indigenous church in harmony with English thought and traditions, and St. Augustine wrote home for advice. His chief told him that English customs and ideas which were not hostile to the Christian faith should not be neglected or discarded simply because they were new or strange to the missionaries. China wants and needs the same consideration in the twentieth century that England obtained in the sixth.

The Rev. J. A. O. Gotteberg, a Norwegian Lutheran of Changsha in the interior province of Hunan, who, in normal times, roams for many miles over that province on foot and in a sedan chair to do his missionary work, was one of many who assured me that the time was approaching when the Chinese could and would make their own converts to Christianity. "It was just a thousand years ago this time," he said, "that the missionaries came from England and Germany to my country of Norway to convert us from paganism. They did the work in one century, and then they all went away. Otherwise our Christianity would have been a foreign institution without the virility and enthusiasm of the Norwegians themselves to make it real. Perhaps we have not made ready as soon as we should have to give China the same privileges and responsibilities. But we are making ready now

all the time and are doing much, in spite of the foreign mistakes.

"The College of Yale-in-China here in Changsha is a splendid illustration of what I mean. The affiliated hospital and medical school of that college under Dr. Yen, a Chinese Christian scholar and physician, is a godsend, not only for the present health of the community but as the training place in which the Chinese themselves are learning to care for their own people. The same is true of the spiritual and educational influence of the college. Wherever I go in this vast province I find local communities being brought to Christianity by Chinese preachers and teachers who have had their training at Yale-in-China but who have known how to transmit Christian values in the terms of Chinese thought which the people can understand. Yale in Connecticut does not do enough for Yale-in-China." [Of course Yale-in-China is now closed and temporarily abandoned by its faculty.]

But if Yale in Connecticut did a great deal more than it does do, and if the undergraduates and alumni of all the other universities and colleges of America followed the example of the New Haven school in founding and supporting Christian colleges in China, it would still only scratch the surface. Foreigners could not do the work, even if it were psychologically and politically

advisable for them to do so. All the money and missionary personnel available from Western countries is only a drop in the bucket, the bucket being the four million square miles of Chinese territory, filled with a hundred people to every mile, ninety-nine per cent. of whom are totally ignorant of Christianity or hostile to it; four hundred million people divided by the barriers of many languages and by almost total lack of means of communication and social relations with each other.

Under such conditions a foreign church can never depend on the snowball process of rapid growth, of inevitable spreading of the faith from one village to another. Ninety per cent. of the country's entire population is in small rural towns and villages and on inaccessible farms. Much more than half of the entire foreign missionary effort and money is expended on the ten per cent. who live in the large centers of population, with which the country people have little or no social contact. The rural work of the missionary is, of necessity, occasional and scattered. One visit in a long period to a remote village church has to suffice. The church is miles from many of the dwellers in the vast district which it is intended to serve. Women cannot get to it because there are no means of transportation, and Chinese women cannot walk miles. In the country they

still bind their feet. And the Chinese men, according to the experts in the matter, notably G. Mathew Thomas, are very poor agents of religious propaganda. They do not take home to their women and children the teachings that the missionaries have given them.

Although they may be converts, the men Christians are not sufficiently aroused, have not got the fervour for the new religion that compels them to spread it among their neighbours, after receiving it from foreigners. An indication that there is something in that theory is found in the fact that the few purely Chinese missionary societies in the country, groups in which all the administrative and evangelistic work is done by Chinese with no foreign control whatever, are making converts faster than the foreign groups.

There is further evidence in the historical precedent of Buddhism. That came to China as a foreign religion from India within the first century of the Christian era. Its missionaries modified it and adapted it to provide for the continuance of the ancestral cult of the Chinese. The Chinese themselves became Buddhist priests without any control or supervision by the foreigners, and the propagation of the new faith was left entirely to them. The result was that Buddhism became as much the national religion of China as Confucianism and Taoism and the dif-

ferent faiths were never considered as mutually exclusive. In other words, Buddhism quickly lost its handicap of being a hyphenated institution and became indigenous. The changes which China would demand in the Western forms and Western inhibitions of Christianity as the price for a widespread acceptance of it would probably be less than the changes which were made a long time ago in Buddhism when it came from India.

Christianity's native preachers could meet its native opponents on even terms, and their value as apostles would not be impaired among their own people by the widely accepted accusation against the foreign missionary that he is a tool for the accomplishment of purposes that have nothing to do with religion. Another charge which is now being made as a part of the propaganda of the anti-Christian organizations is that the foreign missionaries are now in China because their religion is an outworn thing in their own countries, that nobody will pay any attention to them any more in America and Europe so, for the mere economic purpose of keeping on with the work for which they have trained, they have to go away from home to find a place in which their calling has not been discarded. A good many Chinese believe that, too. It is preached by the students who have been educated in America and

Europe, and they are the leaders of the anti-Christian group.

Chinese students of to-day are as eager for the modern learning as their predecessors were for the ancient classics of their country. The ambition of each one of them is to go abroad to study, but they may be divided roughly into groups. Those who, because of pose or imitation of their elders or real conviction, are anti-religious, particularly anti-Christian, before they travel abroad generally select France as the country to which they will go for their university. Two thousand such students have come back within recent years with their degrees from the French universities, and almost invariably they are to be found among the intellectuals who are writing and preaching and organizing against all religion. Also they are fully as responsible as the Russians have been in spreading the doctrine of communism in China.

Another student group, even more significant, is that made up of the young men who go away as Christians to study in the colleges of the United States and who come back four years later as non-Christians. They are more bitter than the graduates from France, because they have lost their illusions in what they had supposed to be Christian America. They have concluded from their experience as undergraduates that the

Christian principle of universal brotherhood means universal brotherhood of white persons. They have heard Christianity scoffed at in America and seen all its rules of conduct violated as a matter of course. What impresses them fully as much, after their own preparatory tuition by missionaries in the Christian schools of their own countries, is the indifference of student bodies and faculties in America to the things which the missionaries had told them were vital. Such students come back as eager recruits for the leadership or the following in the anti-Christian movement.

A third group of students educated abroad is made up of those who, by chance, have lived in England or America with families who still take Christianity as seriously as the missionaries do. Such students do not suffer any such violent break between an actively Christian environment in China and a non-Christian or nominally Christian environment in the United States. They are protected against humiliation because of their race, and they see enough of religion being practiced to offset the glimpses they get of its being flouted. Such students have returned to China in the past as the willing and efficient subordinate Christian workers under the direction of the foreign missionaries. Now they are coming back to join those who demand that China have her own Christianity by means of an indigenous church.

It seems unfortunate that the question of such a church can seldom come up for discussion among a group of foreign missionaries in China without somebody's raising the everlasting question of money. "What will the people at home who have contributed to the funds say if we turn over to the Chinese the churches and other missionary property which has been paid for out of those funds?" And also this question: "Will the people at home contribute any more money if they know that the Chinese are in control?" In view of the ultimate purpose of those funds and that property, the questions always seem a little incongruous and sordid, not to say squalid.

Missionaries themselves regret this, and some of them are wondering if money has not been overemphasized, if too much effort has not been put into "activities" rather than into Christianity as a spiritual thing. They have in mind the simple beginnings of the Christian religion. It might not succeed to-day with such beginnings if introduced as a new thing in the sophisticated countries of the West. But China is a very different sort of a country. Most of the people of the Far East in the twentieth century are living the same simple, pastoral, moneyless lives that the people of the Near East knew when the founder of the religion told them His stories and parables.

Perhaps the Far East, in its simplicity, would

respond more quickly to the earlier simpler appeal. Suppose, for example, in some obscure Chinese hamlet there should emerge a native Christian leader, a born leader, not one made and trained on the foreign model. He would need very little money. His chief equipment would be his fervour and his own conviction. He would do what the Buddhist monk did so successfully in China nearly two thousand years ago. He would range the country, without home or headquarters, preaching his religion. He would see to it that the faith was carried to the mothers with the bound feet who could not walk to get it. He would have no flag, no compound, no treaty, nothing to eat except what those who heard and believed him contributed as he went along. He would win disciples who would preach in the same way. They would talk to people about God and about their ancestors, too. The thing would spread by word of mouth perhaps into the next province, and the next, and so on. Perhaps China would become Christian. That is a ridiculous supposition and picture, of course, so far as a modern, prosperous Western country is concerned. But it seems to fit in Asia, away from the big coast cities which have become Americanized and Europeanized. Shanghai is a Western city with an oriental fringe, but a very short journey away you will find China to-day as Chi-

nese in thought, customs, beliefs as it was in the days of Confucius.

So far as fervour and conviction are concerned, the aim of the alive foreign missionary is to create such a native leadership as that indicated in the hypothetical case of the Chinese Christian just mentioned. But so far it has not come about spontaneously, and until it does the indigenous church is only something which may be approached without being attained. The work of the missionary is to hasten the process and to keep on helping in the only way that the West knows, which is by spending money to get something which is not supposed to be measurable by money. So the perennial question of funds still has a most reputable and practical side. Until China can get her own leaders, spontaneously by the emergence of inspired preachers and prophets, or by the educational process at her own expense, there must be finances from abroad for the great Christian schools and other missionary institutions to produce and develop a leadership.

It would be a great help, however, as T. Z. Koo told me in Shanghai, if the foreign helpers could get away from the idea that the furnishing of funds carried with it the necessity of administering all the work which the funds make possible. "That," said Dr. Koo, who is Associate General Secretary of the Chinese National Y. M. C. A.,

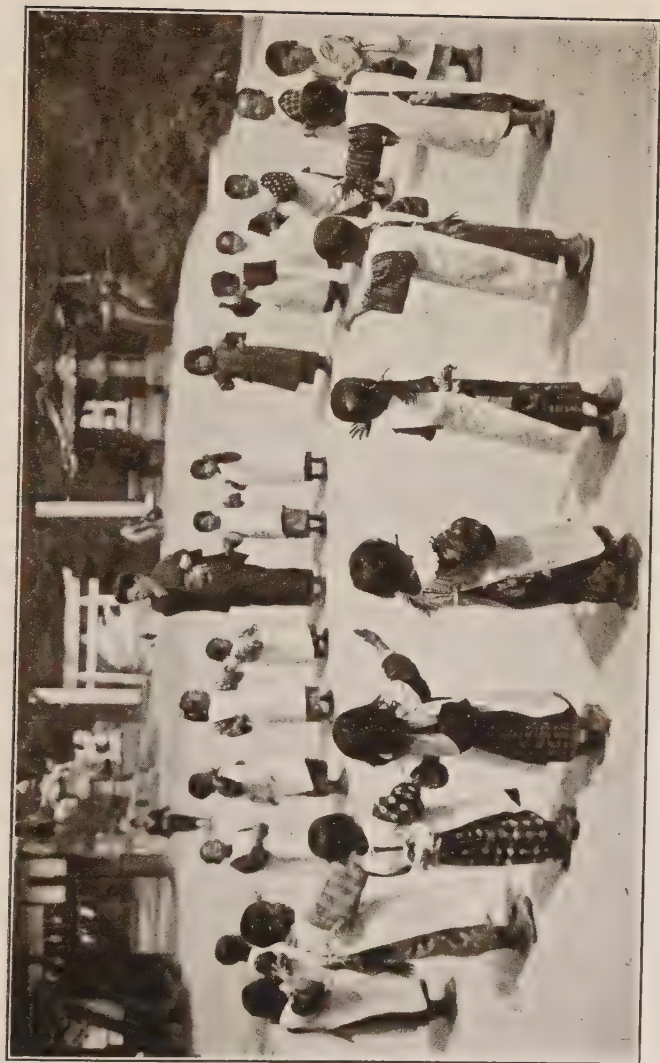
“is one of three foreign missionary attitudes of mind which are a hindrance to Christianity. Another is the superiority of the foreigner. It seems perfectly natural to him to have educated and talented Chinese working under him as his subordinates. Whenever it happens, in the process of turning over some of the control, that a foreigner is working under a Chinese he cannot seem to accept the situation. He is restless, uneasy, his manner is that of a man who resents being commanded by an inferior. A third difficulty is that whenever a Chinese Christian church attempts a new experiment, a new method whereby it is hoped to fit it more closely into the lives of the people, the foreign missionary is apt to warn the Chinese that they are going to ruin the church, and thus prevents the experiment. These well-meaning foreigners make speeches declaring that the Church must become indigenous, they pass resolutions in favour of it. Theoretically they are with us, but when it comes to actual practice, they are afraid of any church in China and for the Chinese which is not a duplicate of an American or a Danish or an English church. We should have an indigenous church in China to-day, we should have had it long ago. But we must wait a long while yet if every attempt of the Chinese at pioneering is to be blocked by the foreigners still in control of the situation.”

XVII

JAPAN'S FREEDOM AND TOLERANCE

JAPAN is as different from other Asiatic countries as a place and a problem for American missionaries as it is in its modern industrial progress and complete sovereign independence. The sovereignty is the main thing. Entirely free of foreign military and political domination and having no fear of it, Japan can afford to be and is generous and hospitable to the teachers of a foreign faith. She is just as generous to all Americans, no matter what their errand there may be. I had demonstration of that fact every day of the two months I was in the cities and villages of the country inquiring about the work of the missionaries.

Entire credit for their hospitality does not belong to the Japanese themselves. It should be given, partly, to the great advantage of their geographical location and the consequent state of mind of strangers when they arrive there. They are bound to be pleased, and a guest who is bound to be pleased makes things easy for a host. I mean this: If you go to Japan straight from the west coast of the United States it is the first



THE BEGINNINGS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN JAPAN- A KINDERGARTEN

land you will see on a voyage of two weeks or more. Under the circumstances even a bare rock emerging from the sea would seem good. Imagine the effect of a lovely country of flowers and trees which you enter by way of a landlocked harbour surrounded by green mountains, where the passport and customs officers go through their business with you in such a manner that there is no danger of having irritation offset scenery.

The effect on the newcomer is equally to the advantage of the Japanese if the approach is from the other direction—that is, by a shorter sea journey, but from some other Asiatic country. Then the contrast is not so much between salt water and colourful landscape as between the happiness and independence of a free people who are on their own and the misery of a people tormented by civil war or humiliated by foreign control or both. The difference between a land of cherry blossoms on a sunny April afternoon and a gray sea out of sight of land in a storm is not greater than that between the cheerfulness of a free country and the brooding, moping, depressing discontent of a country that is not free.

For months prior to reaching Japan I had been working and traveling in India and China. Therefore there could not have been enough grouches, resentments and anti-foreign preju-

dices in all Japan to have made me anything but delighted at going ashore at Nagasaki.

In the town of Shimonoseki, where I had settled down for a fortnight's job of catching up on a lot of writing, something went wrong with my typewriter and there was no shop or agency in that fishing and coastwise shipping port where I could have it repaired. When I explained the difficulty to a boy at the inn he took the machine over to the larger town of Moji across the bay. He brought it back the same afternoon in perfect repair but would accept no money whatever except for his boat fare across the bay and back. There had been no charge at Moji for tinkering the typewriter. The boy explained that it had been a very simple job, taking only a few minutes and requiring no new parts or material. As he put it, it had amounted to no more than giving a glass of water to a man who was thirsty and so no pay was expected. He knew that I was from the country which had put the Japanese exclusion clause into its immigration law.

Shimonoseki is not a port of call for the ships of the big European and American lines. Except for a small group of missionaries on the hills back of the town there are no Westerners there at all, not even an American consul, and such communication as is carried on between the people of the place and the occasional stray foreigner

must be by pantomime and smiles—two languages at which the Japanese are adept. In my daily walks through the many little streets of shops, shrines and homes running back from the water front I was perhaps as much of a curiosity as the first Oriental who strays into the small New England village. On the street of the wharves where the hundreds of small fishing craft come in, there was a long row of fruit stalls.

One day a boy in charge of one of these fruit stands, for the purpose of calling my attention to his wares, made the customary low bow and then with a gesture that threw back the wide sleeves of his kimono pointed to his fruit with one hand and held out the other toward me. I instinctively shook hands with him much to his surprise and amusement. But it established a precedent for all my subsequent walks in that particular direction. All the men, boys and women selling fruit along that street shook hands with me every time I appeared. It was none the less friendly because it always seemed like sort of a joke to them. On the last day of the Five Crops Festival which was then going on, several of the fruit dealers gave me flowers, one presented me with a kite and another a big paper fish on the assumption that I might have a boy. It was on the eve of the fifth day of the fifth month, which is the day of boys in Japan, when at every house

throughout the land in which there is a boy they fly from the top of a staff a huge paper carp. The carp is the symbol because it is the fish that has the strength and the courage to swim upstream and even to climb waterfalls.

Although I should be getting on to my assigned subject of missionaries I would like to write at least a paragraph about that festival of the crops incidental to planting time in Japan. In Shimonoseki there were three days of parading, singing, masquerading and music—but no committee of arrangement, no publicity before or during the celebration, no grand marshals, no formation of the line of march, no bossing of anybody by anybody else, no giving of prizes for the funniest or the most beautiful, although there was much that was funny and more that was beautiful. The streets were filled at all hours; but there was no crowding, no disorder, not a trace of drunkenness. The only noise was that of good singing by many groups, the playing of the *samisens*—banjo-like instruments on which the singing girls play their own accompaniments—and of the violins. The violin of America and Europe has recently become very popular in Japan. Boys and girls play it in the street and in their shops and homes as informally and casually as the American sophomore strums his traditional banjo.

Well, the thing about the festival that im-

pressed me tremendously was that there was not a trace of anything being organized, cut and dried. Nothing about it was commercialized. There was nothing to sell in connection with it. No spaces were shut off for the charging of admission fees. The whole thing was carried on for three days with the spontaneity of happy children and with the intelligence and artistic skill of adults who understood the significance of it. If there were any police about I could not identify them.

All this public and individual joyousness without gate receipts and without busybody committees wearing badges of authority was impressive, but not so much so as the absolute cleanliness of the place and people, not only in Shimonoseki but in all Japan. I do not refer merely to the immaculateness of houses, shops and street pavements but to the persons and—to be entirely frank and explicit—to their feet. The human foot in Japan is something that may be looked at, admired and talked about without any squeamishness. There can be no more thorough test of the cleanliness of a people than that. Most Japanese, especially away from the few great cities, go barefoot but protected from contact with the ground by high wooden clogs. After seeing thousands of men, women and children with feet as well-formed, clean and well-cared-

for as the feet of a baby just out of a bathtub I became curious. I found myself looking down all the time in search of a foot that was exceptional, not immaculate. I went out of my way for a closer look at a rather dilapidated old man who might have been a beggar. But there was nothing wrong with his feet. It was the same story everywhere in the city, along the wharves and in the farming region of the hill country beyond the houses.

It was the same also in other parts of Japan to which my missionary assignment took me, including such crowded industrial towns as Osaka. There is plenty of poverty, plenty of discontent in such centers, for Japan is just getting into the thick of her labour problems incidental to adopting Western industrialism; but cleanliness and courtesy are holding their own. With all this cleanliness, hard work, thrift and capacity for having good times without hiring outside professionals to run their shows for them, I wondered what it was that was so wrong with the Japanese standards of living about which I had heard so much in the United States. I could not find out but I did learn that a daily hot bath for every man, woman and child had been the custom of the country for a thousand years.

I know that various books and magazine articles have been written to the contrary effect

concerning the character and habits of the Japanese. I am not going to write the complete, final and authoritative history of the Japanese myself, even though I was in the country two months, but I stand pat on the evidence of my own senses. My justification for reporting personal impressions and experiences is that they may give some indication of the character of the people with whom the American missionaries in Japan are doing their work. (Four-fifths of all the foreign missionaries in the country are from the United States.)

There are sixty-five million people of the sort indicated in Japan. Something over two hundred thousand of them are Christians, about one-third of one per cent. of the total population, rather equally divided among the Protestants and Catholics. The explanation of the small number is that the present missionary movement began only about fifty years ago and has been confined from the outset to the educated middle classes, except for occasional successful attempts at conversions from the official and aristocratic groups. Almost no effort has been made to reach the bulk of the population in the agricultural regions and the fishing communities. To seventy-five per cent. of the Japanese people Christianity is merely a foreign name, if they have heard of it at all.

There was an earlier Christian movement, carried on by the Jesuits, beginning in the middle of the sixteenth century and lasting nearly a hundred years which won over to nominal Christianity a much larger proportion of the population because it was the custom of the Catholic missionaries of that period to convert the feudal lords. Then the thousands of followers of each such convert automatically changed their religion with him as a part of their required loyalty to the chief.

But the priests were all driven out of the country in the middle of the seventeenth century and sent back to the Philippines. From then on until several years after Commodore Perry, of the American Navy, opened Japan to Western commerce in 1853 there was hardly a trace of Christianity in the country. Then the Catholics went back, but this time the Protestants were with them and on even terms as far as the privileges granted by the Japanese were concerned. All remaining decrees against Christianity were abolished in 1873, and complete religious freedom for all faiths was provided for in the constitution of 1889.

In addition to the hospitable official acts of the Japanese the missionaries have done much to advance their own cause. Thirty years ago, for example, they had much to do with the abolish-

ing of extrterritoriality, which was a humiliation to Japan, as it is to-day to China.

The last prejudice against Christianity on national or political grounds was based on the fear that it would weaken the loyalty of its Japanese adherents to their country and Emperor. That fear vanished in the wars with China and Russia in which Japanese Christian soldiers fought as well as the non-Christians.

The Reverend K. Miyazaki, now head of the National Christian Council, told me how he had become a Christian himself when he was a private soldier in the war against China. He went into the war as a Buddhist but was converted by what he saw and heard at a preaching station which the Methodists had established back of the lines. He preached the new religion to other soldiers so effectively that there were many conversions from the ranks. Whereupon Miyazaki was court-martialed by his colonel and sentenced to prison. But General Kuroki overruled the colonel, set aside the verdict and restored the soldier to his place in the army. This was partly because Miyazaki, in spite of his Christianity, had fought bravely enough to win several decorations; partly because as a Christian he had greatly increased the health and morale of the men in his regiment by his crusade against association with prostitutes.

When this present Christian period began fifty years ago the earliest converts were the samurai, the military chiefs who had worn two swords and ruled the country under the shoguns. But almost simultaneously with the first coming of the Protestant missionaries from the United States in 1859 and the return of the Catholics after two centuries of absence, the shogunate was abolished and real power restored to the Mikado. All classes were declared equal before the law. This was a part of the national reorganization plan to enable the country to carry out the new policy of learning the ways of Western civilization in Europe and the United States without running the risk of being dominated by those countries. The samurai lost all their military authority and were deprived of their swords. But they did not lose their quality and intelligence for leadership which had come from their own experience and through many generations of ancestors. They simply needed a new outlet for energy and capacity, and the missionaries from America caught them, so to speak, in the nick of time. For many of them Christianity was the "something new" that their situation required and they became the pioneers among the converts to the religion from the West.

In no other country have Christian missionaries had such intelligent material with which to work

at the beginning of their enterprise. In India, for example, the start was with illiterate coolies and has not gone much beyond that phase. In Japan the beginning was with educated men and women. In its development it has gone up but not down. The masses of the people in the interior of the country have not been reached at all.

While, as I have said already, only one-third of one per cent. of the whole population is Christian, the percentages in special influential groups are much higher. Four per cent. of the members in the Japanese House of Peers are Christians and five per cent. of the House of Representatives are of the same faith. One-third of all the members of the Japanese Y. M. C. A. are actually Christians, and about that proportion is the rule among the various student bodies of the great missionary schools and colleges.

Miss Matsuda, principal of the girls' schools in Doshisha College, at Kyoto, told me that one-third of her students were Christians, although they were from non-Christian families. Their parents want them to have the education of the institution and do not object if conversion to Christianity grows out of their attendance there. Miss Matsuda also told me, when I was at Kyoto, of a memorable visit which the Empress of Japan made at the school.

"The Empress," she said, "was impressed by

our school and stood with the rest of us during the religious part of the exercises. She was particularly interested in the beatitudes and took away with her a copy of the Bible which the girls gave her. There are several Japanese Christian men and women at the Imperial Court."

Along with the high degree of education and intelligence of the Japanese Christians, and probably because of it, there goes religious liberalism. Japan is as modern in its Christianity as in its adaptation of industrial and commercial affairs to Western standards.

"Teaching of Christian religion in Japan as something opposed to evolution would be impossible," an American missionary said to me in Tokyo. "Those of us from the United States who are working in this country were as much embarrassed and ashamed because of the Scopes trial in Dayton, Tennessee, as we were by the Japanese exclusion bill passed at Washington. The act of Congress seemed to the Japanese a horrible reflection on the ethics and brotherhood of a supposedly Christian country. But the Dayton trial, they rated as just as serious a reflection on our Christian intelligence."

A specific illustration of this modern spirit in Japan and the obligation of the missionaries to keep up with it was given to me by the Reverend Dr. A. K. Reischauer, a United States Presby-

terian missionary and a scholar whose special research is in Buddhism. The representative of a Los Angeles group of Fundamentalists, said Doctor Reischauer, came to Japan recently and offered liberal financial support to any American mission group who would teach the bodily second coming of Christ and other beliefs of the Fundamentalists. No missionary would accept the money offer on those terms and the agent returned to the United States with the report that all the Christian workers in Japan were heretics.

All this means that the American missionary in Japan must be as liberal and intelligent as the Japanese themselves if he is to be effective in holding converts or making new ones to his faith. There are many clergymen in the United States so far behind in their reading and study of modern science and philosophy that they would be helpless in the mission field of Japan. There are also many teachers and professors in small American colleges who would be barred from the faculties of the Christian colleges of Japan which have the official recognition of the government and the privileges which go with it. To teach in such a school a man or woman must have at least the preparation of a master of arts, otherwise he is looked upon as unfit to teach in any college to which Japan is willing to give its approval.

Because of this high intelligence average of

the Japanese converts they are more able than the native Christians of China and India to discriminate between the Christian religion and the international politics of the traditionally Christian countries from which the missionaries come. And they do discriminate sharply. Their great test in this respect came, of course, with the enactment of the exclusion law at Washington. It came so soon after the splendid aid of America at the time of the Yokohama earthquake that the Japanese were at first more dazed and bewildered than angry. "You gave your millions to save us from pestilence and death," a Japanese woman said to me; "and before we could find words to bless and thank you, you slapped us in the face."

Anger and resentment came later but they have softened to regret and a patient hope that sometime there will be a different or at least a modified solution of the immigration question which will not involve special and humiliating discrimination against a country which the United States and all Europe have rated as one of the five great nations of the world. In the meantime the percentage of Japanese who want war with the United States is about as great as the percentage of Americans who want war with Japan.

Incidentally, one of the most amazing stories that I have heard in Japan was of the momentary

fear which the people had of the American naval vessels that were rushed from the Philippines to Yokohama with food supplies and with sailors and marines to help the victims of the earthquake disaster. The first thought on the part of many, even including some officials at Tokyo, was that the United States Navy had orders to take quick advantage of Japan's utter helplessness and capture her ports. That moment of horrible distrust is the one thing for which Japan is contrite in her attitude toward America.

But, to return to the ability of the Japanese to discriminate between religion and politics, the effect of exclusion on the missionary cause was limited in both time and scope. There was for a while a falling off in the number of new converts due chiefly to the fact that the Buddhist priests were shrewd enough to take advantage of the situation to speed up their own work of religious propaganda. They successfully adopted some of the Christian methods of preaching and organizing to win more converts and they made use of the exclusion act as an argument that the Christian teaching of universal brotherhood was insincere.

But, on the other hand, there was almost no apostasy on the part of the Japanese who already had become Christian. Instead of deserting their churches they increased their contributions to

hasten the day when the churches would be entirely independent of financial support from the denominational mission groups of the United States. The Reverend Dr. S. H. Wainwright, a Methodist missionary and one of the American executives of the National Christian Council of Japan, assured me that one of the marked effects of exclusion had been in its incentive to greater effort on the part of the churches to achieve self-support and independence of American help. Many churches already had reached that status. Others were making some progress toward it. Now the rate of such progress is greatly increased. There are some churches which had planned to be self-supporting within the next eight years. They have been able to cut that time limit to two years, thanks to the eagerness of Japanese Christians to put an end to their sense of obligation to American Christians. Nevertheless these same Japanese Christians want the American missionaries already in the country to remain and they want more to come. They are needed, not to manage the churches already established, but to spread the faith in the regions where it is still unknown. The Japanese seem to think that the men and women from the United States can do that part of the work better than the native teachers and preachers. The element of curiosity concerning

a foreigner and the desire to learn the English language from a foreigner are important factors in bringing the non-Christians within reach of the Christian teaching.

Miyazaki, head of the National Council, whom I have quoted previously, said to me: "There are fifty thousand villages in Japan which have temples, shrines, schools and theaters and which are on or near the railroads; but Christianity has not yet touched them. We need your American missionaries to work in all these places."

Even without the incentive of a political rebuff Japan had progressed farther in fifty years than India and China have in three centuries toward self-government and self-support of her Christian churches—which is an excellent thing for the religion itself. It enables the church to adapt its worship and methods to the needs, temperament and national traditions of its own people, failure to do which in some other countries has been a serious obstacle to the spread of Christianity among the intelligent people of those countries.

Shinto is the best illustration in Japan of what I mean by the necessity for Christianity to adapt itself to the traditions of a people. Originally Shinto was religious worship of the emperor and all his ancestors. It was the highest and most exalted phase of ancestor worship and prevailed

as a national religion even during the period that the Mikado had no power. But of recent years both by official decree and by practice and understanding of the educated classes it has ceased to be a religion among those classes and remains only as an expression of patriotism. Japanese Christians and the liberal and intelligent missionaries from the United States now all accept it as such. Here and there a missionary holds out against it as something idolatrous and "heathenish" to be ignored in all Christian churches and missionary colleges. Then there is trouble and friction, and the school involved finds itself without the government recognition which is essential to its success as an educational institution. I ran across one such case in Korea.

Bishop Monoda, once a Buddhist, now head of the Episcopal diocese of Tokyo, gave me one striking example of how a Christian church can be thoroughly Japanese. All the churches of his diocese, by the way, have become independent of foreign financial aid within the past two years.

"We have a loyalty to our emperor which Westerners cannot understand or even imagine," said the bishop. "On his birthday we have a service in the Episcopal church with a special form of prayer which is not borrowed from anywhere or anybody. It is original to Japan and in accord with both national traditions and with

Christianity. We pray: 'God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, we thank Thee for giving us the sovereign of the Imperial line continued for tens of thousands of years. Accept our prayers, O Lord, and bless our present emperor. Lead him with Thy Holy Spirit, protect him with Thy divine power.' Our emperor knows of that prayer and he approves it," added Bishop Monoda.

That is the form which Shinto has taken in the Christian Church. It recalls the words placed at the beginning of every copy of the King James version of the Bible—"To the Most High and Mighty Prince James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so on."

Another British equivalent for Shinto is the hymn, "God save the king."

I visited the great Meiji shrine at Tokyo and several lesser Shinto shrines throughout the country and saw many Japanese, some of them Christians, paying the same sort of respect that we observe at our patriotic shrines at home. A Japanese visiting the United States for the first time would be greatly puzzled by watching the performance of a Billy Sunday revivalist racing back and forth on a platform, throwing imaginary baseballs at Satan or swinging an imaginary bat to knock Satan's head for a home run. But that

same Japanese visitor would understand perfectly the reverent attitude, the uncovered and bowed heads of American citizens at the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon, at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington. He would remove his own hat, perhaps clap his hands three times according to the Shinto custom. He would be aghast at the necessity which occasionally arises at both Mount Vernon and at the Memorial for the custodian to remind some American that he should remove his hat.

The American flag flying over every public schoolhouse in the United States is the equivalent for the required reading of the Imperial Rescript—a Shinto document—in every school, Christian or non-Christian, in Japan. And, yet, as already intimated, there are a few missionaries—a very few—who object to this and sometimes make a fuss about it. They do not help the cause of Christianity and they do not add anything to such favourable opinion as the Japanese may have of the Americans.

As I have said in previous chapters concerning other Asiatic countries, the influence of Christianity is far greater than is indicated by the numbers of baptized converts. That holds good in Japan. Although there are fifty million Buddhists and seventeen million ancestor worshipers, and less than a quarter of a million Christians,

Christianity is officially recognized by the government as one of the established religions of the country. In all conferences called by the government for the discussion of public educational or religious matters the Christians have equal representation and influence.

In the course of my stay at Tokyo Mr. J. Shimomura, head of the religious bureau in the Imperial Department of Education, issued a statement to the effect that the Christian influence was greater than that of the Buddhists among the educated people. He based this on a survey of all the colleges and universities, which showed that the bulk of the religious activities among students were Christian. "Buddhism represents seventy-five per cent. of the population," said Shimomura, "but we cannot say that these are real believers in Buddhism in the sense that Christians are believers in Christianity. Christianity shows superior strength among our thoughtful people. This may be because Christianity puts more emphasis on education; but even so, Buddhism does not make a greater showing in social and philanthropic lines of work." This Japanese official ends his statement with a warning to Buddhists that they may lose their place in Japan within another century.

The Christian influence referred to by Shimomura runs in many channels outside of educa-

tion. The government has recently given to the Y. M. C. A. one hundred thousand yen for its new building to take the place of the one destroyed by the earthquake. This appropriation was based on the belief of the Government that the Christian Association is an agency for the social betterment of the country. The Y. W. C. A. is recognized by manufacturers as rendering splendid and indispensable service to women workers who live in the factory dormitories. The Japanese W. C. T. U. has made an effective start in creating public opinion against the system of licensed prostitution; something more than a start, for laws have been enacted which prevent the display of women in front of the houses of the segregated district and which make it more difficult for such women to be held for debt as prisoners in those houses against their will.

The most effective source of such Christian influences which I ran across personally was Kobe College for Women, established more than fifty years ago. America at her best seemed to me to be focused there, teaching hundreds of Japanese girls through all the school and college grades and sending them out to have a wholesome bearing on every phase of Japanese life. Smith, Wellesley, Mt. Holyoke, Radcliffe, Oberlin and various other women's colleges and coeducational

schools of the United States are represented on the faculty. Charlotte B. De Forest, of Smith, is the President, Grace H. Stowe, of Mt. Holyoke, is Dean. Susan A. Searle, graduated from Wellesley in 1881, was President of Kobe twenty-two years. She resigned several years ago because of injuries received when she was thrown out of a jinrikisha, and became President emeritus. But she still teaches fifteen hours a week, at the age of sixty-nine, and makes a point of keeping in touch with the Kobe graduates in their homes. To do it at minimum expense to the college, she travels about Japan third class. Miss Searle told me that the teaching of Wellesley which she had tried to live by at Kobe was that of the old motto on the walls of the Wellesley building that was destroyed by fire: "Not to be ministered unto but to minister."

A year or so before coming to Japan I had visited all the American colleges represented at Kobe on another assignment for the *Ladies' Home Journal*. At Oberlin they told me of the beginning of their famous music department, which started with the arrival of a teacher in the Ohio wilderness nearly a century ago. He came on horseback from Boston with a violin slung across his back. He got a place as teacher at the new college, but his violin playing and the inspiration which he brought with him from Lowell

Mason, the New England hymn writer, were the foundation of the present conservatory at Oberlin. I remembered all this when I met Stella Graves, an Oberlin graduate now in charge of the music school at Kobe College. She told me that many of the Japanese girls elected music so that they could play in their own homes. One student said, "If I can learn to play well I will be able to entertain my father's guests and he will not need to call in the geisha girl."

The teacher on horseback with his fiddle really rode thousands of miles beyond Ohio.

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